

THE IMPACT OF TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT  
ON PUBLIC RITUAL AND FESTIVAL:  
ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, 1821-1987.

By

PATRICIA C. GRIFFIN

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With sincere thanks  
for his scholarly encouragement  
this study is dedicated  
to  
Dr. Allan F. Burns

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The period of this research stretches over ten years and extends both anthropological and historical research undertaken over an even longer time span. My residence in, and knowledge of, the community over a period of almost thirty-five years has been invaluable to me. Some of the background data included, especially festivals attended decades ago, was useful for time depth, although, of course, no field notes were kept at the time.

It is fully recognized here that being a citizen of the community in which one conducts anthropological research has its negative as well as positive side. Automatic blinders are a problem, and it takes a conscious effort to stand back to examine a situation where one plays an ongoing part.

The original plan was to study tourism in the community, but the unwieldiness of this broad area led to the choice of one facet--ritual--to look at the community's acceptance of strangers. During the time span of the research tourist numbers remained stationary, but large scale development began, a factor which led to some dramatic changes in public festival life.

There are a number of institutions, organizations, and individuals who have aided me in various ways in this

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Errors of omission and commission, as well as the analysis and conclusions, are fully my own, for which I bear total responsibility.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
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Chairman: Allan F. Burns  
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Public ritual is examined in a small, coastal community where tourism was the economic base from the time that Florida was transferred from Spain to the United States in 1821 to the present decade when large scale development transformed the community into a boom town. It was determined that the evolution was from folk-based ritual to "rites of modernization" in the late 19th century when the town became an arena for elite tourism. After the elite period St. Augustine chose, consciously or unconsciously, to enter the modern industrial world as a historic-town display for tourists, and festival life elaborated into a rich complex. With the pressures of entry into the postindustrial world in the 1980s, festival life differentiated and fragmented, temporally and spatially.

Reconfiguration and displacement have not entirely disrupted continuity of forms and features from the past which are transformed to express issues in the modern community. These issues include first, ambivalence toward outsiders which is worked out in the festival realm by the development of "temporary rites of incorporation," and through event twinning. Second, confusion over loyalty to the Spanish heritage vs. American patriotism is mediated through symbolic strife and resolution, and by the staged unity of the celebration itself. Third, problems with the southern caste and class system in the community are dealt with by revitalization movements which use festivals as a showcase, and by linking local events to national celebrations. Fourth, relief of strains caused by the cleavage between the Hispanic-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant sectors of the population, evident throughout the time period examined, takes place through a brokered duality displayed through ritual symbols, themes, structure, and timing. A ritual model is erected for towns of this type where long slow tourism growth is capped by rapid development.

## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

. . . one finds no difficulty in believing that in the course of a few years the entire population of the earth and the heavens above the earth and of the waters beneath the earth would be settled in and around this quaint, romantic, straggling, dear and dearer-growing city of St. Augustine.

Sidney Lanier 1875

For many, many years, and while the frontier was still in full surge in other parts of the United States, and long before many communities in the country had come into existence at all, St. Augustine, Florida, was a tourist mecca. Even before 1821 when Florida became an American territory the town was no stranger to strangers. Founded in 1565, it lays claim to being the oldest continuous European settlement in what is now the continental United States. Santa Fe, New Mexico, the other prime contender for this honor was not established until 1598. From the beginning St. Augustine has led a beleaguered existence, becoming home to diverse ethnic groups and national domains in its role as a commercial, political, military, and religious way station.

Under continuous onslaught from outsiders, some of whom became permanent or semi-permanent residents, this small community has managed to stay viable by adapting a strategy of small time, conservative opportunism. That opportunism

has been expressed through taking economic advantage of outsiders who needed services and commodities in their sojourns in the town and in later days by exploiting the heritage of the town through initiating modest sized tourist attractions.

#### The Historical Setting

St. Augustine is located on the northeastern coast of Florida, some thirty-five miles south of metropolitan Jacksonville (see Figure 1). It is not located in a place naturally hospitable for human settlement. Situated on a marshy peninsula which floods at high tide, it faces one of the most treacherous inlets on the south Atlantic coast. A scrub and sandy area crisscrossed by waterways stretches to the north and south, and the nearest fertile land is miles away to the west.

The settlement site was evidently chosen quite by accident. One condition of the proprietary grant for the settlement of Florida given to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés by the Spanish Crown called for the elimination of the French from Florida's shores. After discovering Juan Ribault's fleet protecting the fledgling French colony, Fort Caroline, near the mouth of the St. Johns River, Menéndez sailed south to the next available inlet to set up a base of operations from which to eliminate the Huguenots (Lyon 1976). Although disadvantageous in some respects, the site proved effective from a military point of view, buffered as it was by the

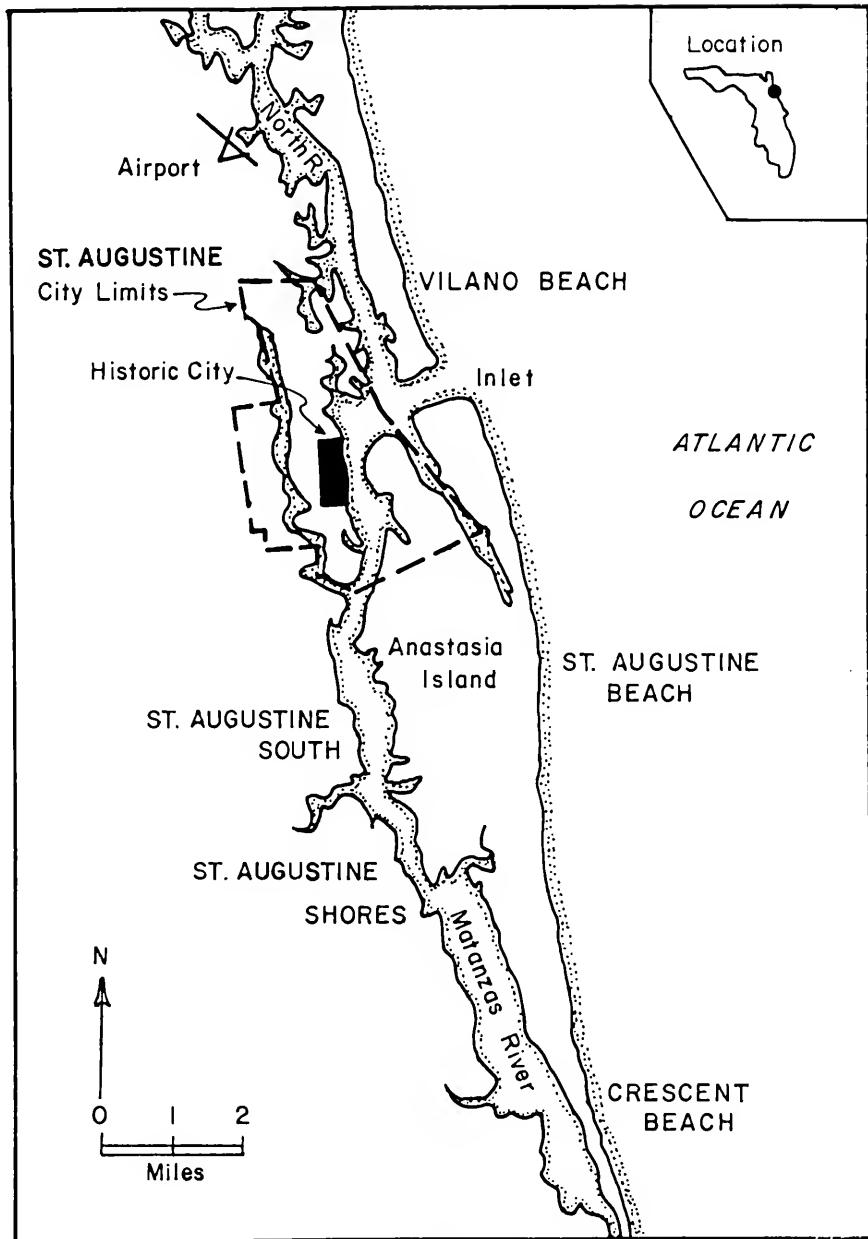


Figure 1. Vicinity Map

shoal and shifting inlet and situated near the point in the Gulf Stream where it turns to the east, thus allowing the town to serve as a "Gibraltar"-like guardian for the treasure-laden Spanish fleet sailing the water highway back to the Old World.

The charm of the old town area for present day visitors lies in its Medieval European village look, with its narrow streets and overhanging balconies, its sequestered loggias, and walled gardens. This ambience is consequent on the original town format which has endured since colonial times.

The town was laid out in the grid plan dictated by Spain for her New World towns, the plan modified in St. Augustine's case by its peninsular location. Foster (1960:34) describes how "streets [in Spanish America] radiate from a square or oblong central plaza and intersect at right angles to form rectangular blocks. . . . usually the important buildings face the plaza: church or cathedral, municipal hall, homes of important business and religious leaders, and other structures central to the life of the inhabitants. . . . In villages and small towns a periodic market may be held in the plaza."

The original flimsy buildings were supplanted through the colonial years by more substantial structures made of plastered-over coquina, a local conglomerate rock which weathers in a picturesque way. A massive stone fort built of coquina also replaced earlier wooden structures which

guarded the sea entrance. Eventually, when the English colonies to the north began to pose a threat of attack by land, fortifications and defense lines were erected around the town. The total effect was that of a walled medieval town as evident in Figure 2, and it was the atmosphere thus provided on which later visitor fascination is founded. The spatial imprint endured even after most of the fortifications, with the exception of the fort and the city gate, were only a memory.

The town has spread in all available directions in the ensuing years. The modern community will be described in the next chapter.

#### Indigenous Culture

St. Augustine also bore a strong Spanish imprint in areas other than architecture. This template was stronger in fact than in many towns established by Spain in the New World, because, as Deagan (1983:270) has said, unlike other such settings the "colony was isolated, it was never forced to develop a subsistence system based on New World resources, and it thus never developed concomitantly adaptive social and ideological systems." Deagan concludes that this factor plus the constant infusion of male emigres from Spain led to an innate conservatism, a perpetuation of a medieval world view in spite of a few Renaissance features in architecture and planning. Only in the domestic realm



Figure 2. Eighteenth Century St. Augustine (T. Jeffries, 1762).

where mestizaje took place, could substantial areas of innovation and change be found.

Although this Spanish cultural complex was removed when England gained the Floridas in 1763, another Hispano-Mediterranean group took its place. In 1777 a sizable Mediterranean group recruited originally to work in a British colonial enterprise in New Smyrna, seventy miles to the south, was given sanctuary in St. Augustine because of hardships and abuses on the plantation and other factors. The group was composed of natives of the Balearic Islands, Spain, Italy, and Greece, but came to be known in the Floridas as the "Minorcans" after the insular origin of the majority.

Importantly, these were agrarian and seafaring people grounded in a conservative world view based on long standing lifeways and on folk Catholicism. In his treatise on such traditional cultures Foster (1962:65) concludes that such societies are ones where "conservatism appears to be culturally sanctioned." Fatalism and coexistence with nature are the norms. Life on a plantation where they were forced to live in a dispersed pattern and engage in one-crop cultivation to the profit advantage of the proprietor was culture-distonic. Indeed the disruption caused by the way of life forced on them doubtless contributed to their removal to St. Augustine (Griffin 1977). Once in St. Augustine, they quickly reordered their lives in the

traditional way, living in nucleated fashion and fishing or tending small garden plots outside of town. Moreover, they reinstated the full calendar of religious celebrations familiar to them, some of which had been suppressed on the plantation.

Prior to coming to the Floridas the Minorcan Islanders in the group had been forced for fifty years to reckon with Anglo culture because of British occupation of their homeland. Patterns of coexistence were, therefore, already a part of the repertoire.

Unlike the mostly male, culture carriers of earlier times in St. Augustine, the Minorcans came as families, and the traditional Hispanic folk-culture, with its Catholic Church centering, was carried forth in the domestic sphere, solidifying the conservative mien of the community. The Minorcans mainly lived in a separate quarter of town, and as the English period gave way to the Second Spanish Period in 1784 and later to the American Period in 1821, this territorial enclave was maintained. The fact that a few of the Minorcan women married Spaniards in the Second Spanish Period and, later, Anglo immigrants in the early territorial period, produced little effect in the domestic sphere. The men's interactive sphere was probably much more affected. Bi-lingualism, and even tri-lingualism became the rule for the men whereas the Minorcan hearth language and attendant cultural forms were maintained in the domestic realm. The

net effect in the early stages of the developing St. Augustine culture in the nineteenth century was conservatism in the domestic sphere with some innovation and change in the male domain.

The relative isolation of the town continued to remain a factor encouraging traditional lifeways and value orientations. Of interest here is the fact that there was little contact with the changing Hispanic culture of the Old World. Revolutionary ideas leading to rebellions and the resulting drastic political, social, and economic changes did not influence the Mediterranean world until the very late eighteenth century. Likewise, anti-clerical, and anarchist ideas did not become prominent until the 19th century (Pitt-Rivers 1961). The cultural forms and lifeways imported to Florida in 1768 by the Minorcans, and subsequently maintained, were therefore based on an ancient cultural model.

The Minorcans, along with the attached slaves, have formed the only continuous population base of the St. Augustine community for the past two centuries. Although Mediterranean traits were altered or dropped through the years, a certain stable core culture has remained which exists in an effective balance with the Anglo-Protestant segment of the population added later. This two part system comprised on one hand of Hispanic-Catholics and on the other

of Anglo-Protestants remains a central feature of the community today.

#### A Beleaguered Community

That the community survived at all is a miracle. Florida, and its seat of government, St. Augustine, was a pawn in every major war, bouncing back and forth from Spain, to England, back to Spain, and finally to the United States. Several times domain changes left a huddle of houses occupied by only a handful of people willing to cast their fortunes with a new regime. The town suffered from inadequate support, from pirate depredations, including an attack by Sir Francis Drake, from an avalanche of loyalists when Florida remained loyal to the crown during the American Revolution, and from the occupation by Union forces during the Civil War. Fires, floods, freezes, and epidemics likewise took their toll.

Nor have the town's troubles been over in modern times. It was forced into becoming a boom town in the late nineteenth century by the American industrialist Henry Flagler's grandiose scheme to turn it into the "American Riviera," and as quickly dropped when elite tourism moved to Palm Beach and other points to the south. It became the center of civil rights controversy in the 1960s when Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference chose the town for marches and protests leading, some say, to the passage of the federal Civil Rights Act following the

second season of St. Augustine demonstrations. With the advent of the 1980s, large and small scale developments began to swamp the county so that by now St. Johns County has become the 34th fastest growing county in the nation. A recent history book is most appropriately titled, "The Oldest City, St. Augustine: Saga of Survival."

The capriciousness, the unpredictable course of the town's history, the constant barrage of outside forces impinging upon it, of which the latest boom is one more example, has led to the way that local people think about their community. Perhaps it is an overstatement to say that a certain siege mentality exists. Nevertheless, when a community is subject to frequent disruptions by constituencies with different agendas and abstract, sometimes foreign, values, certain adaptive responses develop.

One strategy used by the community is to close ranks under threat. Outsiders, for example, were confused when the town presented a united front in the civil rights disturbances. A charge of cowardice was leveled at town moderates for their failure to ameliorate the town's position, when actually, overriding loyalty to the besieged community triumphed over any liberal ideology which existed.

Underneath this unified front is a prevailing contentiousness. An oft-repeated story, with many variations, has it that the way to get an argument started

is to walk into the plaza and announce that it is Friday, or any other obvious fact. Any local people about will immediately take issue. Inter-group and intra-group controversies flourish as well. Alignments may be the traditional ones or shift as seems expedient, leading to the strange bedfellows phenomenon. Milder disagreements may result in compromise; other feuds may continue for years or be carried across generations.

Those familiar with Mediterranean culture will recognize the strong Spanish theme of "pueblo" loyalty in the above discussion. Foster describes the pattern as follows:

Whether one's native town be large or small, the same attachment to, love of, and fierce pride in it are found in each heart. This sense of community is not reflected in a local social structure that functions without major conflict and stress. The opposite is more nearly true; enmities may be strong, and antagonisms are deep and frequently long standing. At the same time against the world there is unity in local patriotism, and a genuinely strong belief that the community is superior to all others. [Foster 1960:35].

It is the thesis of this study that the celebratory spirit of festival is one way in which the community maintains this precarious unity. Seasonal and one time events tie together diverse elements as past glories are celebrated and present cohesiveness maintained. Some fifty public events were staged in 1986, confirmation that the nickname "festival city" is well deserved.

Tourism and Development

While strangers had been common on St. Augustine streets in the first centuries of the town's existence, their missions were economic, religious or political. After 1821, however, when Florida became a territory of the United States, health seekers and sportsmen of enough affluence to afford the ocean passage found the warm St. Augustine winters attractive. Tourism had begun. A slow rise in tourism, interrupted briefly by the Seminole and Civil Wars, was capped in the last part of the century by the Flagler Era boom when railroads and a complex of ornate hotels and other facilities were built to house elite winter vacationers seeking a warm and exotic locale. After a number of setbacks, the Flagler Era came to an end near the turn of the century when the "Newport Crowd," as these precursors of the Jet Set were called, moved south to Palm Beach.

Tourism, however, although no longer as elegant, continued, and reached in the 1920s a second flowering in St. Augustine which I will refer to as the Alcazar Era, after the name of the hotel in which hibernant social life centered. Through various changes, including the development of a small middle class, townspeople merged with prosperous visitors in an annual social season, the elite tone of which continues in some corners of community life today.

The economic depression of the 1930s broke this cycle of tourism, and it was not until after World War II that automobile tourism provided a gradually increasing number of visitors, spreading by that time into the summer months. The bulk of the summer visitors were families on two week vacations. This slow but significant acceleration, which allowed the town to adapt gradually to increased visitation, was again disrupted by outside forces when the Southern Christian Leadership Conference used the community for demonstrations in the 1960s, ushering in a mild local depression which continued for at least five years, ending dramatically when Walt Disney World opened in October, 1971. Situated only two hours away by car from what has become the world's largest tourist magnet, has meant that St. Augustine, positioned at the edge of "the Mickey Mouse Circle," has had a steady stream of tourists ever since.

The latest boom did not come until the 1980s, and it has come not through increased tourism, which has actually plateaued, but through tourists who decided to become residents. The population of St. Johns County, of which St. Augustine is the county seat, has nearly doubled in the seven years since the 1980 census. Much of that growth has come from its attraction as a retiree center, although the northern edge of the county is also experiencing industrial growth and bedroom-housing spillover from metropolitan

Jacksonville. The building boom is also bringing in a cadre of new residents engaged in the building trades.

A strained and sometimes broken infrastructure had by 1986 brought the community to a crisis level. An antiquated political and economic framework has been unable to deal effectively with severe housing, transportation, water, sewer, recreation, crime, and other social problems. For example, a just-built jail was already inadequate. Small time, conservative opportunism as a strategy no longer sufficed, and community control was rapidly passing into the hands of big development interests.

Before this boom-town situation, St. Augustine had chosen, perhaps not in a conscious way, but certainly by the path of least resistance, to enter the modern world as a tourist attraction, by using its traditional aspects--architecture, history, ethnic groups, ritual life, and especially its significance as the "oldest city"--to attain this status. The early origin and slow development of the town has resulted in an encapsulation of its quaintness, now elaborated, some say tarnished, by added commercial attractions. The old town area is rapidly becoming a "museum" surrounded by modern residential and commercial development. In some respects the community jumped directly from the preindustrial to the postindustrial world, bypassing the intermediate stage. While tourism is sometimes called an "industry," it does not fit the

customary understanding--that of production or manufacture of items or goods for profit.

#### The Problem

The case, then, is a community, where long slow development has been based on tourism, whose community context and ideology evolved from reciprocal relations with outsiders. Community adaptive strategies of the past are no match now for the sudden onslaught of a different kind of economic change.

The problem for this study is to look at community change under the impact of tourism and the more recently added development boom. Public ceremonial life will be the window through which we will observe community change. It has been chosen as the vehicle for this purpose because it, more than any other aspect of community life, cements the various factions into the meaningful unity known as St. Augustine. A typical extensive yearly round of Hispanic Catholic celebrations was in place in the early 19th century when tourism began. Episodic, repetitive change was the norm, and ritual crystallized the yearly time series; the mysteries of the World were celebrated, not probed. Growing from this rich base the elaborate festival life of the present community has developed. Ritual modes appear to be used both to promote unity and as border mechanisms to deal with strangers.

It is not the purpose here to decontextualize ritual from the study of this community. No research on a community can reach totality. Even some of the earlier studies which attempted to approximate completeness, brought some elements to the fore more than others. Thus, the study of "Yankee City" (Warner 1941) heavily used one facet, contemporary class structure, as an explanatory device. Likewise Vidich and Bensman (1968) analyzed the community of "Springdale" from the standpoint of the economic ties to mass institutions and urban society, and more recently Wallace (1980) sought understanding of Rockdale through focusing on the results of technological change on the subject community. I have chosen public ritual as the illuminator for St. Augustine for the same reason that Geertz (1973) chose it in the Javanese community he studied, and Ortner (1978) concentrated on it among the Sherpa, because of its central importance in the cultural context of that particular community. In St. Augustine the festival complex is intricately interwoven with the political, economic, and social spheres of the community, and has remained so throughout the century and a half that the town has been a tourist mecca.

Doughty (1978:1) has spoken of "the tendency in many writings to consider 'the fiesta' as a frivolous type of event, scarcely worthy of close attention in light of other issues such as social structure, politics or social change."

It is my contention that festival life is so interwoven with structure, process, and change that to overlook it is to ignore the very life blood of the community as well as overlooking a significant and very useful diagnostic tool.

Models used will fall under the categories of community, tourism, ritual, and change.

#### Community Models

For community study, the model fully articulated by Arensberg and Kimball (1972) is most useful for organizing the material for this project. This model, tied to the community study method, places community as the object or sample of a human group exploiting a resource base in a specific territory. Communities then fall into types for which certain predictions can be made. Dr. Kimball at the end of his career, still fascinated with community as an entity, thought more and more of a community as a "problem solving unit," and he often said, "The crucial question for all of us [as anthropologists] is what energizes a system" (personal communication).

By the time that this question was posed, the study of communities in isolation had fallen into some disuse by anthropologists because such investigations failed to reckon in more than a cursory manner with the regional, national, and international forces of the postindustrial world. Hoben (1982:354) has discussed the damaging effect of "anthropology's failure to focus on the complexity of the

local community, individual decision making processes, class interests and class formation, and the relationships of local communities and institutions to the wider political and economic institutions within which they are embedded." Community theory of an earlier time, through the circuitous route of semiotics, interactional theory, neo-evolutionary constructs, and other influences, has come to the emerging "praxis" theory of the 1980s. Ortner (1984), while admitting to the amorphous orientation of the praxis model, sets agent or actor into the practice or action frame, as the main emphasis. An effort is made to understand "how society and culture themselves are produced and reproduced through human intention and action" (Ortner 1984:158). In this paradigm, an interactive focus is considered an adjunct to structure and function. Such a blend of explicatory meaning and time depth will be especially useful in the present instance.

A basis has been laid in Emile Durkheim's original social structure differentiation variable "organic solidarity" (Durkheim 1933) and thence to (1) the elaboration of differentiation as an ongoing evolutionary mode as a macrosystem by Leslie White (1959) and (2) mini-differentiation into "front" and "back" regions by Erving Goffman (1959). However, White's theory falls short because of its emphasis on the influence of technology as the locus for change and its insistence on a narrow developmental

definition, and Goffman's construct, while valuable, is limited by its micro-interactional context.

More germane for present purposes, Dean MacCannell, a sociologist, has used the best of these models in looking at change in tourist communities. He speaks of a "special type of differentiation especially prevalent in tourist settings, a duplication of structure" (MacCannell 1976:179). From an action level standpoint they mirror what Giddens (1979:221) has described as "divergent interpretations" of established norms. Such duplication or structure twinning causes internal elaborations, where the convoluted result presents a most confusing picture.

In the context of ritual, Burns (1978:169) believes it profitable to regard change as both "episodic" and "evolutionary" in the natural history of communities. Taken together the duality is explanatory of the rise of revitalization movements and attendant ritual ordering.

Kroeber's notion of "cultural fatigue" (Kroeber 1948:404), another possible cause of cultural change, brings forward the factor of "social staleness." In this construct, forms have outlived their usefulness and interest to the community and are abandoned, often abruptly. Explanations of change as wrought by human intentionality, of which this is an example, fell into disrepute during the 1970s era of Marxist determinism in anthropology, but a few years later we hear Ortner (1984:158) saying that "society

is a system, that the system is powerfully constraining, and yet that the system can be made and unmade through human action and interaction."

#### Tourism Models

There are now a wealth of anthropological studies focusing on tourism even though anthropology was late as a field in coming to such studies. With anthropology's emphasis on non-Western peoples, the studies so far have characteristically been aimed at easing the transition into modernity for indigenous peoples and cultures. The debate has raged, and the discourse goes on in other social sciences as well, as to whether tourism is the "great destroyer" (see particularly Nash 1977, 1981; Turner and Ash 1976; Forster 1964) or whether it is a force for preservation and enhancement of traditional peoples (see MacCannell 1976, 1984; Graburn 1976, 1977, 1983; de Kadt 1979). As the 1980s decade advances, polarization on the issue is less prominent, and accommodation is highlighted by most, or for scholars with an anti-tourism bent, making the best of a bad situation, which is itself a form of accommodation.

Tourism studies in the social sciences, especially in sociology and anthropology, have looked at the what, where, why, and how of tourism. Typologies have been erected, sacred and secular aspects examined, and comparative research has been undertaken. Much field work has been accomplished on the influence of tourism on the contact

culture, rather than the impact of the toured community on the tourist. The present study will be in this customary vein, focusing on the results of tourism and development on the community and its culture or cultures. Where this study is different is its use of the festival genre to examine what happens.

#### Ritual Models

"Rituals are public," Marcus and Fischer (1986:61) note, and "are often accompanied by myths, and are analogous to culturally produced texts that ethnographers can read systematically." In essence, the lead of Geertz (1973,1983) will be followed in looking at ritual. He customarily posits an ethnographic case, then through "thick description," comprehension of the alien text, and translation for the reader, he weaves an emerging message.

Prior to Graburn's (1983) call for further research on festival life and tourism, few were the studies of this kind (notably Greenwood 1977; Moore 1980; Jordan 1980; Esman 1982). A number of works, however, mention festivals in passing as one of the elements which attract tourists to a locale.

The work of MacCannell, previously mentioned, bridges the theoretical gap between tourism and ritual, as well as bringing in the change aspect, and his analysis of "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1976:91-93) will be particularly useful. He takes his text from the matter of perceived

reality and authenticity where these buffer the tourist's experience in a visited locale. He sees the ideology of "true" or "real" presentations for tourists as a differentiating force for the tourist community, initiating, along with other internal elements, changes in space use, social structure and ritual itself.

In addition to the above, I will use the ritual process model of Victor Turner (1969, 1975, 1978, 1982); and Arnold Van Gennep's (1960) well known and extremely useful "rites of passage" framework will also provide ways for analyzing the data.

#### Case and Method

The subject community of St. Augustine is defined as the larger community usually designated by that name, the natural community as it is extended beyond the statutory polity; in short, including all those who, if outside the area at the time and asked where they are from, respond "St. Augustine" although they may live as much as eight or ten miles from the town plaza.

My residence in the community for two different periods from 1954-1959 and from 1970 to the present, with summers in between these two periods spent in the area, have provided a wealth of background knowledge about the community. Attendance at public events, while extensive because of my husband's position, was random until 1978, but has been continuous ever since, comprising in the ten year period

from 1978-1988 attendance at over 200 public events.

Masters degree research, not focused on ritual, however, encompassed another period of extensive study from 1975-1977.

The method relied on in the present research was the community study method delineated by Arensberg and Kimball (1972) and elaborated by Kimball and Partridge (1979). "Our unit of analysis becomes the event, as a point in space and time," Arensberg and Kimball (1972:264) admonish, "but includes its antecedents and consequences." In this study public events are examined as atoms to elucidate the total picture, and to look at development and community change.

The standard ethnographic tools of participant observation and key informant interviewing were used both inside and outside the bounded event context. Other quantitative and qualitative data were elicited by use of city, county, and state statistics; newspapers; review of oral history tapes, films, and radio programs; collection of material about the town printed in sources outside the community, such as regional magazines; etc. Also used were unobtrusive measures, mapping and photography. A limited sample of events was attended in other United States communities for comparative purposes. A summer of field work in Wales where ceremonial events and festivals were attended as part of the research provided comparison in an even larger context. A description of the customary

anthropological methods employed in the present study may be found in Pelto (1970); Webb et al. (1966) and Naroll and Cohen (1970).

Questions to be Answered

1. What is the character, past and present, of St. Augustine as a tourist community?
2. How has public festival life changed in the community under the impact of contemporary American life, particularly tourism and modern development? What role has ritual played in this process of change?
3. What processes of differentiation and change are at work within the community which in turn are expressed in ritual modalities?
4. What continuities in ideology, ritual, and social structure can be observed?
5. Can an evolutionary model be erected, with predictive implications, which might be generalized to other communities with parallel histories and of a similar type?

CHAPTER II  
THE SETTING: ST. AUGUSTINE

There are two dirty words in St. Augustine, tax and condominium.

Wendall Clardy, local citizen, as quoted in Florida Trend, May, 1979.

In this chapter the present-day St. Augustine community will be discussed. An illustrative overview will be given using a particularly relevant case--the difficulty encountered in passing the tourist development tax in the county. From this, the intangible ideological framework of the community will begin to emerge, so that the economics, demography, politics and government, and social group composition will make more sense.

Relationships to regional, national, and international markets will add to our understanding of this small town's relationship to complex market forces. The chapter will be rounded out with a description of a typical festive December day, called Pal Day, which begins with a Christmas parade, continues with staging of various activities during the daylight hours, and ends with the Grand Illumination ceremony in the evening.

The Tourist Tax and Community Ideology

The economy of St. Augustine is based anywhere from 60% to 85% on tourism depending on whose estimate is accepted,

yet a referendum on a tourist bed tax failed three times over a period of seven years. On the fourth try in November, 1986, the measure passed.

The Tourist Development Tax, calling for a two percent tax on lodging for tourists, was authorized by the Florida Legislature on a local option basis to help counties defray the costs of the industry without using tax dollars levied on local citizens. In St. Johns County it was expected to raise \$600,000 in 1987 and over one million annually by 1990. The plan for St. Johns County called for 40% of the revenues to be spent on advertising and promotion of the area as a tourist destination, 30% on recreation/beach redevelopment, and 30% on arts and culture. The latter would include some or all of the expenses of tourist-related public events and festivals.

The tax passed easily in other counties where tourism is a major factor. By the time of the fourth vote in St. Johns County, most of the areas where it had been adopted earlier reported a positive experience with this source of revenue. In St. Johns County an immediate furor arose when it became known that the issue would once again be placed before the electorate.

Objections to the tax, verbal as well as written (one man took out a full-page ad in the local paper), revealed a ground swell of anti-tourist sentiment. Concern with government interference, that it would create a "pork

barrel" for local politicians (St. Augustine Record, October 30, 1986), that it would benefit special interest groups like the Chamber of Commerce and the Arts Alliance were some of the complaints. Waxing constitutional, one opponent fretted that it was "taxation [of tourists] without representation;" likely a projection of the writer's own mistrust of government and certainly one of the few instances one finds of looking out for tourist rights. Others worried that it would keep tourists away from the town while a few claimed that St. Augustine had enough tourists already and attracting more would only further clog the streets and facilities.

In the closing days before the election, complaints focused on outright suspicion of community leaders and others who were backing the measure. The "everyone is out to make a fast buck and line his own pockets" held sway. When the vote was finally positive some members of the opposition were poor losers, pointing out that the only reason that the tax passed when most people did not want it was because of the high pressure tactics of the campaign. The slick materials circulated in the community were spoken of with outrage. The public relations job done by a solidly-aligned business group and other local associations did play a part in the positive outcome. However, some deep-seated cleavages in the community were operating also.

A study of the 1986 vote on the measure reveals that the win margin in the 10,842 to 8,028 vote occurred in the growth areas of the county and in the more prosperous districts. Seven precincts accounted for most of the win while 38% of the winning margin was logged by just two precincts in Ponte Vedra, the affluent Jacksonville suburb on the northeastern edge of St. Johns County. In general, precincts occupied by old time resident families cast a negative majority vote, whereas areas with an old and new population mix carried for the tax, but with a small majority.

While a few of the tax opponents were gracious losers, including a campground owner from a well-known local family, the issue has never died. The plan to spend part of the revenue on a municipal golf course promptly brought suggestions for the recall of county commissioners. Then, in December, 1987 the matter was brought to the fore again when it was announced that part of the bed-tax dollars were to be used to attract the Association of Tennis Professionals, a national organization, to headquartered in Ponte Vedra. The revenue from the tax had exceeded expectations for the first year by about \$30,000, and the Tourist Development Council, the authority set up to administer the tourist-tax revenue, voted to recommend to the county commission that \$600,000 be given to the ATP over the next five years.

"I told you so" responses broke out in the newspaper and other forums. Local money was seen as being drained from the community to benefit rich people in Jacksonville, and even possibly as a payoff to Ponte Vedra for support of the tax. A parallel was drawn with the Tournament Players Championship, a golf association which is Ponte Vedra based, but is claimed in national publicity to be a Jacksonville sport complex.

Divisiveness on this tax is easily seen as polarizing along local/newcomer, wealthy/poor, and urban/rural lines, although this is not an entirely unmixed picture. But the comment must be added that there is a long standing sentiment in the community that taxes are bad regardless of their purpose, that they represent unwarranted intervention from governments and individuals with nefarious purposes. As far back as the nineteenth century the town council refused to pass a tax on the polity to accede to Henry Flagler's request that the streets be paved, a refusal contributing to Flagler's moving his enterprises southward in the state (Graham 1978).

#### The Modern Setting

The location of the town has been described as inauspicious for a human settlement. This is less so in the present than in the past. Water is no longer the major travel route, so the condition of the inlet and harbor is of less importance. Modern technology has allowed deepening of

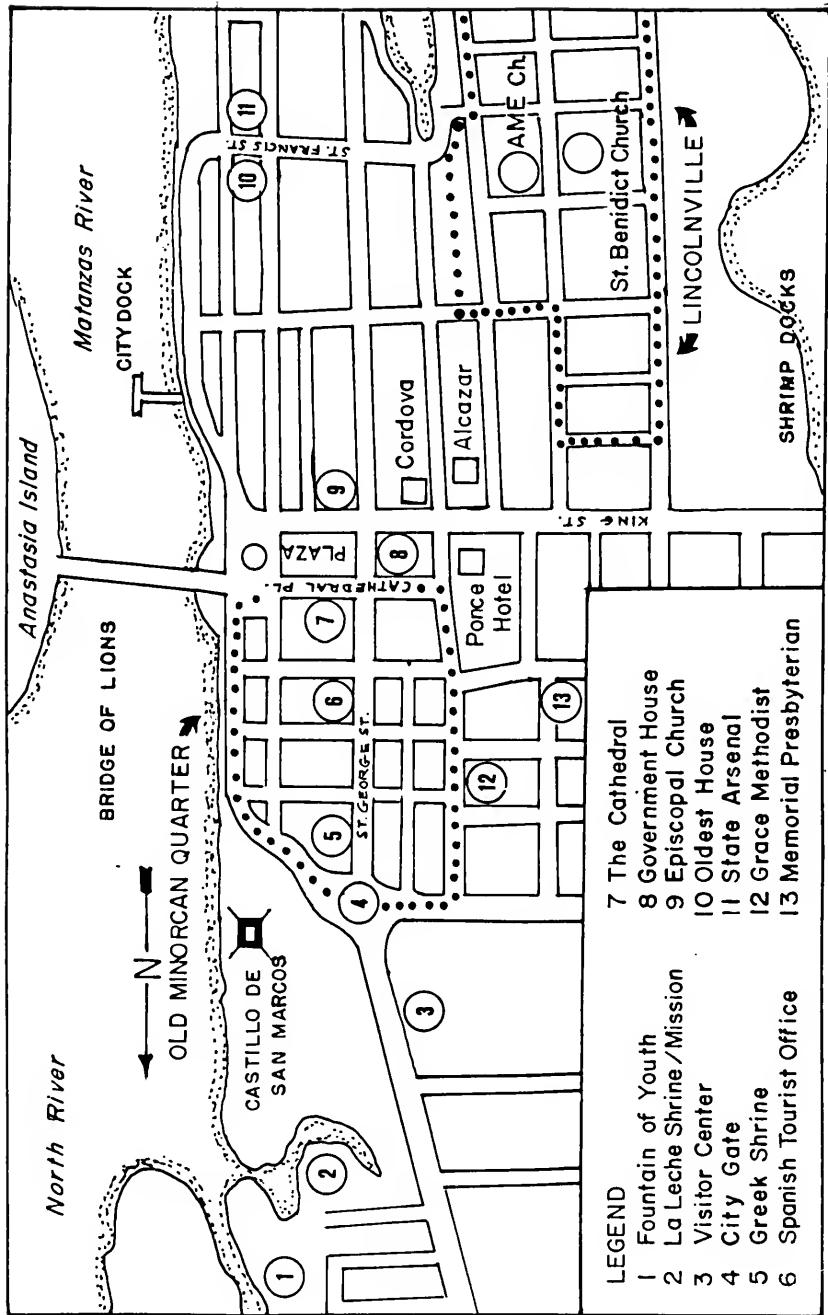


Figure 3. Downtown St. Augustine: Significant Sites

channels and restructuring the waterfront with sea walls and bulkheads, eliminating some of the flooding problems.

Flooding still occurs when either a tropical storm or northeaster coincides with high tide and a full moon, but townspeople take it in their stride. At such times citizens plan their town trips at low tide or take the back streets along the ridge to reach their destinations.

Agriculture, third in county income after tourism and development, is now located in western county areas on the fertile St. Johns River plain. The less fertile soil on the edges of the community is presently in residential development or in forest lands.

Remarkably, town life remained centered on the plaza until this decade. All city and county, and some state, offices were on or just off the plaza as were the two principal banks. Other commercial establishments were on the immediately radiating streets. The Cathedral and the old Episcopal church still face each other across the plaza. This positioning was a legacy from the days when the Minorcan quarter stretched to the north behind the Cathedral to the city gate, and many of the first, and more prosperous, Protestant residents settled south of the plaza beyond Trinity Episcopal Church.

After a relatively inactive period after World War II the complex of Flagler buildings was put to adaptive use in the 1960s and 1970s. The St. Augustine City Hall and the

St. Johns County Courthouse relocated in two of the ornate hotels. Part of the Alcazar Hotel was made into the Lightner Museum, financed by a wealthy collector who became associated with the town. Redone in the 1970s it displays the town's Victorian period in a sophisticated and tasteful manner. The collection of Tiffany glass is a "must see" on many a visitor's list. In 1969 the Ponce de Leon Hotel, the flagship of the complex, was turned into Flagler College, a small, private college, funded mostly by the Flagler heirs.

The fort, Castillo de San Marcos, lies to the north of the historic area and is easily, with its draw of three-fourths of a million visitors a year, the most significant tourist attraction. The restored area managed by the state occupies the north sector of the historic town. Its boundaries almost exactly coincide with the historic Minorcan Quarter. It went through an intermediate period when it was called San Agustin Antigua, but has recently been renamed "The Spanish Quarter" with the rationale of making it more attractive to visitors. This historic section containing a number of restored and reconstructed houses accounts for the second largest number of tourist visitors per year after the fort. Other points of interest in the historic section of town include the Oldest House, a doll museum, Ripley's Believe It or Not Museum, the Oldest Store Museum, Potter's Wax Museum, and others. In areas outside the historic district tourists can visit the

Methodist and Presbyterian churches built by Flagler, the Fountain of Youth, Nombre de Dios Shrine, and the Alligator Farm.

As in other tourist centers, once a node of attractions emerges and visitor traffic increases, various businesses and other attractions spring up to add to the complex. In turn, as tourist space increases, local interaction space decreases. For the last few decades the "Quarter" has been almost exclusively tourist space. Aside from a few skateboarders dodging about to avoid the vigilance of the police, one rarely sees a local person there. The upper part of the street has been blocked to automobile traffic since the 1960s, and in 1984 the walking "mall" was extended to the plaza. The historic area is, however, not so neatly bounded, and as is true in other historic-display towns, adjacent areas encompass street segments or individual houses and public buildings of historic importance.

The municipal boundaries increased gradually prior to this decade. By the early part of the 20th century the city had been expanded to include what is still called North City, north of the City Gate; Lincolnville, the area on the south part of the peninsula where blacks settled after the Civil War; and a section of land across the San Sebastian River, popularly called West Augustine. The last is split between a white area on the east and black area on the west, part of the latter extending into the county. During the

1920s boom Davis Shores was developed and included in the city limits (See the map in Figure 1).

This incorporated area is only part of the present geographic setting which is today considered the community. Greater St. Augustine now stretches in all habitable directions past the city limits including Vilano Beach north of the inlet and even embracing St. Augustine Beach, itself a corporate entity. But the spectacular growth has taken place along U.S.1 South, hastened dramatically by the opening of the first shopping mall in 1980. After that, local downtown businesses began to close, move out of the downtown area, or change their emphasis to cater to tourists. Government entities began to move also, a trend begun when the county built a new administrative complex on U.S.1 North. A movement is underway to move the judicial facilities also.

More and more in St. Augustine one hears that the center of town has moved from the downtown plaza area to the conflux of U.S.1 and County Road 312 which, via a new bridge, connects the middle part of Anastasia Island to the mainland. Stretching south of this area on the mainland are new housing developments--St. Augustine South, Moultrie, Prairie Creek, and St. Augustine Shores. Residents of the "Shores" live in medium-priced homes and are mostly retirees from the north. Other new subdivisions are rapidly being platted to the south and west of these locations.

Vacation homes, campgrounds, resort facilities, and condominiums stretch south on Anastasia Island to Crescent Beach and beyond. While some condo dwellers on the Island are year-around occupants, more commonly they are seasonal or on a time-share basis and thus only tangentially connected to community life.

St. Johns County, 617 square miles in size, once included nearly half of Florida. Now it is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the east, Pellicer Creek on the south, the St. Johns River on the west and the Jacksonville city limits to the north. Development taking place on the northern boundary is clearly part of the greater Jacksonville community, which, it is expected, will eventually stretch to St. Augustine.

St. Augustine's climate is mild with an annual mean temperature of 70 degrees and rainfall of 50 inches a year. The lack of industry and the prevailing sea winds keep the locale mostly pollution free. Since early times the climate of the area has been remarked on as salubrious, accounting for its attraction as a health resort in the nineteenth century.

#### Demography

The population of St. Johns County in 1987 was estimated at nearly 75,000 people, an increase of some 46.4% since the 1980 census. This population growth has outstripped all predictions, and, based on recent growth

rates, the population is expected to double to 150,000 by A.D. 2,000. About 48% of the recent growth has been in the U.S.1 South and Anastasia Island areas.

Meanwhile the city of St. Augustine proper is slowly losing population. From 11,985 in the 1980 census it declined to an estimated 11,891 in 1986. This loss of population is due to a declining birth rate, outmigration, mortality, the increase of commercial establishments (mostly tourist related), and an increase in government owned property.

Some of the outmigration mentioned above may be no further than to new homes in the unincorporated area nearby. Using various measures, an educated guess is that greater St. Augustine, that area where people define themselves as part of the community, has a population of about 40,000-50,000.

For the first half of the century whites accounted for 75% of the population of the town and blacks constituted the other 25%. Presently blacks live mostly within the city limits and now compose 21% of the city population. In slave days and even later blacks were scattered throughout the town. Although several of the old inholdings still exist, most now live in Lincolnville at the southwestern tip of the town peninsula and at the western edge of West Augustine. Taking the county as a whole, the black population was 17%

in the 1980 census, a percentage which is declining rapidly because of the number of in-migrating whites.

Except for the black community, the average age is increasing in the county and the population shows a skew toward more females than males in its composition.

#### Economic Life

"St. Johns County has become the hottest little growth area on Florida's First Coast," the Jacksonville Business Journal (February 2, 1987) recently reported. Elaborating that seventeen new manufacturers had moved into the county in the last eighteen months, it was concluded that they are adding "an industrial punch to a once economically sluggish area dependent almost entirely on tourism." That growth has been dramatic since the beginning of the decade is undeniable, but many of the individuals and concerns profiting by that growth are outsiders. Significant industrial development is mainly confined to the area just south of the Jacksonville line, and usually workers are recruited from within the Jacksonville area. It has been said that about 70% of the employment age individuals in St. Johns County do not have the education and training, or perhaps the inclination, to take industrial jobs. A trade school, St. Augustine Technical Center, which serves a regional area, is now located in west St. Augustine. There, an effort is being made to correct this deficiency.

The cold hard fact is that St. Johns County is far from affluent, and St. Augustine itself is classed by the state as a "small, distressed city" (St. Augustine Record: October 11, 1986). Moreover, it is an expensive place in which to be poor. The average per capita income in the city is \$8,726, below the \$10,823 for the county, which is again below the \$11,065 of the Jacksonville Metropolitan Statistical Area of which St. Johns County is a part, which in turn is slightly below the state per capita income of \$11,593, which is likewise below that of the nation as a whole.

Income in the St. Augustine area is not equally distributed, with blacks twice as likely as whites to be living below the poverty level. According to a recent report compiled for use with St. Augustine's comprehensive land use plan (Duke 1986:44), St. Johns County is an expensive area in which to live, with food being the most expensive item. In only two other counties in the state did food cost more.

Other items tell more of the story. Approximately four to five percent of county residents receive some form of public assistance. The county has a higher school dropout rate than surrounding counties or that of the state as a whole, and 40% of the city's adults have not completed high school. The community's unemployment rate is consistently high, customarily fluctuating with the tourist cycle. With

the present boom, the area is, however, experiencing some change in this employment picture.

However, with the above background, it is easy to see how small scale tourism development, which has been the pattern, fits in. Most tourism related jobs are of the unskilled service kind; likewise, agricultural work calls for a pool of unskilled, seasonal labor. Before the 1980s the few light industries attracted to the area were hampered by the lack of education and labor skills of the potential work force. The few industries which have been successful were those which made use of traditional skills stretching back to Spanish times, notably the building trades, including boat building.

Some have intimated that those in community control in the past had a stake in maintaining St. Augustine as a tourist reservation (see particularly Colburn 1985). It is true that little effort was spent on improving poverty problems or living conditions. For example, St. Johns County is still the largest county in the state without a housing authority, although low income housing is a pressing problem. Consistently, although eligible, the county has chosen not to apply for housing grants while some homes are without water and indoor plumbing. One of the county commissioners sees as part of the problem that "many residents did not trust the government enough to pursue housing grants" (Florida Times Union, February 25, 1987).

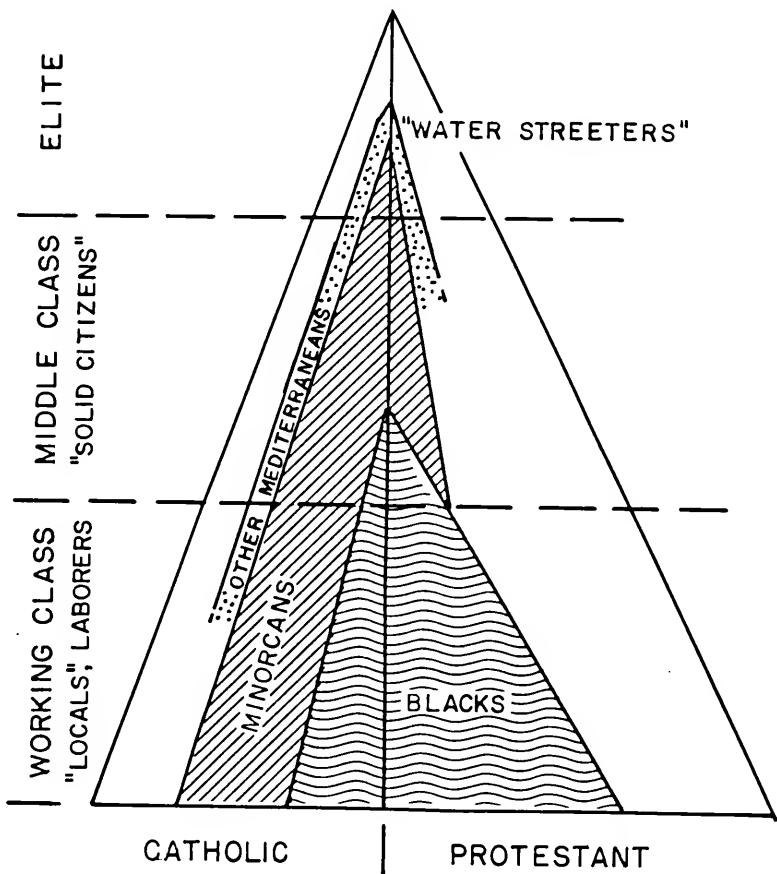
Nevertheless, clinging to tourism has been less by intent than an artifact of gradual and longtime adaptation. It has served reasonably well to keep the community afloat. Small tourist establishments were congenial with local entrepreneurial traditions, and the seasonality of the tourist industry has always meshed with the relaxed work style. Even in lean tourist times the attitude as one old timer expressed it in a 1974 interview is, "we old St. Augustinians can always get along; we've always been poor, but we know how to make the most of what we have and our wants aren't much."

With the pace of community growth accelerating dramatically, while the number of tourists has stabilized, the slice of the economic pie represented by tourism has probably declined in the last five years from a high of 85% to somewhere around 65%. Large scale development in the area is an "added to" factor rather than subtracting from the long time economic base of the community. However, while economic activity has picked up, until some readjustments are made, this dramatic change is causing an overburden.

#### Social Groups

##### The Minorcans

The point has already been made that the Minorcan group composed much of the population of St. Augustine when the area became a United States territory. These Mediterranean



Highly generalized and schematic.

Figure 4. Social Groups: Present-day St. Augustine

descendants have been, and are, a sturdy and resilient cluster. As mentioned, others--usually white male Southerners--have been annexed by marriage through the years. Today, the Minorcans probably number about three or four thousand, with some twenty easily identified family lines.

Some of this group, and this was even truer in the past, do not define themselves as Minorcans at all, but identify themselves as "from an old St. Augustine family." Farmers and fishermen initially, many still maintain such activities as sidelines or supplements. They have layered out through the class strata of the community, but a sizable number of family heads are self-employed in the building and service trades. Few are at the bottom of the social structure of the town. A prevailing value system crosscuts social and economic levels. In the following the ideal type is described.

At base the culture of this group is family and (Catholic) church oriented. The men's work group is still prominent and may be seen at its best in the fishing modality. Esteem of one's fellows is of central concern and honor, and shame, its opposite, plays more of a role in behavioral modes than does achieved status. Politically, members of the community tend to be conservative, patriotic, ready to defend home and country from real or supposed enemies.

Work is for survival and not an end in itself. A favorite story of the past is of the cry "Mullet on the beach" emptying a church or football field. Diffuse leadership and egalitarian decision-making patterns prevail. It is a personalistic sub-community where all are known, and "good" and "bad" branches of each family are well identified. This two-part system is similar to the so-called "Buchedd" system in Wales (Day and Fitton 1975) where certain families or family segments are considered less respectable than others, but they are all still Welsh.

A commitment to one's entire extended family is the rule for the old line Minorcan families. One Minorcan informant described the scene on the afternoon one of his clan members was indicted for murder. Within hours, fifty males from both the respectable and less respectable branches of the family had assembled at the patriarch's house. Before the evening was over they had mapped out a strategy for hiring a good defense lawyer including taking donations from all assembled and for caring for the defendant's wife and children while he was in jail.

When outsiders talk about St. Augustine's "Rednecks" some of the Minorcans may be included. However, although the overly-macho image of Southern rednecks may have been adopted by some Minorcans, underneath a general ease of manner prevails, except--and this is a big exception--when threatened from without, when violence can and does hold

sway. In general, though, and in the ordinary course of affairs, respectability is a characteristic cultural value, to the extent that few are found in the welfare and mental health systems.

These were initially village people some of whom still find it congenial to live in family enclaves, own things jointly, and share resources. Minorcans originally lived within the old town, and later expanded into North City where they owned land which they formerly used as garden plots. A goodly number of families later resettled in West Augustine. In the latter area today they are interspersed in neighborhoods with other working-class whites.

A white group which early in territorial days, and even before, immigrated to St. Augustine was composed of the Southern, white yeoman class. Since these were usually male individuals, they frequently intermarried with Minorcan girls. Except for the Hispanic aspect in this meld of Minorcans and white southerners, the resulting culture was not unlike that which Lingeman (1980) describes for the western frontier. There, mixing of town oriented peoples and "outliver" agrarians took place, creating the uniquely American frontier society where independence blended with family and group loyalty, and town and hinterland existed in a special relationship. However, in St. Augustine the nucleated "pueblo" orientation somewhat overshadowed the

incoming rural lifeway characteristic of the American South, and has remained a significant feature to this day.

It must be emphasized here that it is the folk-centering of the Minorcan group which has been dealt with in the above description. However, a number are now near the top of the social pyramid in town. These substantial citizens largely partake of the world view of the Solid Citizens group to be discussed later in the chapter.

#### The Water Streeters

Another immigrating Anglo group from New England and New York was smaller in number than the Southern whites, but greater in cultural influence. In St. Augustine these northerners found a southern community unusual in its town orientation, and with a nucleated layout, giving on a central green, reminiscent of their home communities.

This group which became the base for the Anglo-Protestant elite in St. Augustine, are now described as "The Water Street Crowd," although they have been called "The Old English" (Colburn 1985). These families, many of whom now live in places other than Water Street, presently number perhaps fifty all told. They trickled into the community throughout the nineteenth century. Some first came to seek health cures for themselves or members of their families; others, as the century wore on, settled in the community as the result of the Flagler boom and the railroad and land management that accompanied it. Some of the group spent

only part of the year in St. Augustine, a pattern still true of a few present-day descendants. In the early years of this century their abodes lined Water Street next to the bay north of the fort, but today some of the Victorian houses have been bought by others who were attracted by the elite image of the street.

Water Streeters now commonly belong to Trinity Episcopal church, the oldest parish of that denomination in Florida, or to Flagler Memorial Presbyterian Church. The men are associated with each other in business or clubs while the defining clubs for the women are the Woman's Exchange and the Colonial Dames. Not all of the Water Street women belong to both organizations. The Woman's Exchange was established in 1892 to help poor women in the community to sell their handiwork. "Poor women" in this case were the Minorcans or "Spanish" as they were then called. This was such an exclusive white Protestant elite club that no Catholic woman was admitted to membership until well into the present century.

The Colonial Dames of America is a prestigious national organization in which membership depends on proving descent from an ancestor who took a leadership role in the colonies which became the original 13 states. The nearest chapter of this organization is the one in Jacksonville, and local members have joined with those from Jacksonville to undertake quality restoration in the town. In fact, there

are a few wealthy women from the metropolitan area who have contributed substantial amounts of money to various historical projects and who have also lent their prestige to Boards of Directors of organizations involved with preservation.

In discussing the elite group, the continued connection with the Flagler heirs should be mentioned. Most prominent is Lawrence Lewis, Jr., who lives in Richmond, Virginia, but has poured millions of dollars into St. Augustine, including the establishment of Flagler College. If Henry Flagler was a resort entrepreneur, then Lawrence Lewis will be remembered as the scion of historical scholarship and restoration in the town. Symbolically, Lewis keeps his yacht anchored off one of the Water Street private docks.

Members of the Protestant elite in St. Augustine are well-educated and cultivated in their tastes and set a refined tone in the town. Moreover, idealism is part of the ethos. With the puritan New Englanders' cultural image of "'visible saints' in a state of grace" as Lingeman (1980:25) describes it, their early reforming spirit met head on with the coexistence pattern prevailing theretofore in St. Augustine. The reformer spirit of the early years has by now blended with other traditions, occasioned in part by intermarriage with non-New Englanders and more than a century of residence in the town.

### The Blacks

The blacks compose another traditional group with a long history in the area, stretching back to Spanish slave times. Impressive, but little recognized, is the fact that the first black birth was recorded in 1596 in St. Augustine, several decades before any slaves were present in Virginia. In the 1830 census, taken nine years after Florida became a territory of the United States, they comprised nearly half of the population of St. Augustine. Now they live mainly in Lincolnville and West Augustine.

Overall this is an impoverished group with low social status, a common pattern in southern cities. Religious institutions are primary, but show a different distribution than in other areas of the south. The dominant faiths are today Protestant, but about forty parishioners are now left from a once-larger black Catholic congregation. In a significant spatial parallel the St. Paul AME Church, with the largest black Protestant congregation, faces St. Benedict the Moor Catholic Church across the central section of Lincolnville's main business thoroughfare, just as the white churches stand off across the downtown plaza. Indeed, black history and cultural forms are often a replica of the white, even including that rarity, a black Episcopal Church.

Some black families were traditionally attached to the more elite town families as servants. Until recent decades a parallel structure existed so that the status of the white

family being served was mirrored by the status in the black community. As one informant told me, "used to be when the police know what a nice family you work for they don't mess with you." Certain of these black families still have patronal relationships with the same white families as their ancestors did.

Until the middle of the 1960s Florida Memorial College, the third largest black college in Florida, occupied a campus on the western edge of town, providing a small center of black intellectual elite to which status black people in the community related. As in the white community, doctors (and dentists) formerly were a respected sector of the community.

#### Solid Citizens

Below the elite Water Streeters is a middle-class group which will be referred to as Solid Citizens. This is not a homogeneous group, and is composed of families which, for the most part, immigrated by intent or accident. Some stayed after military occupation of the town, others came because of health or governmental or business opportunities. In later years a fair number were attracted by the town's historical image and coastal location and remained to become significant townspeople.

The group equates roughly with the class strata designated "Upper Middle Class" which Warner et al. (1960:66-67) describe as "not in the top group, but good

substantial people, the level just below the top group . . . the strivers, people who are into everything, the community leaders."

If we could name one area where the more prosperous have commonly lived, at least in the last fifty years, it would be Davis Shores at the northern end of Anastasia Island. However, as in the case of the Water Street group, younger members have moved out to newer developments, usually to areas outside the corporate limits. The composition of this mid-group shifts constantly, with people moving elsewhere and new faces being added regularly. Included in this group may be young professionals with jobs in education or government service or middle managers in the business or industrial sectors. The increase in numbers and percentage of these Solid Citizens has amplified the middle class layer in what once resembled a semi-feudal system.

Whereas the Minorcan and Water Street groups are almost always Catholic and Protestant, respectively, the Solid Citizens are a mixture. Minorcans who work in white collar employment or have achieved responsible positions are found among the Solid Citizens as illustrated in Figure 4. Also , among this Solid Citizen group we find some individuals of Mediterranean descent who are not part of the Minorcan group. They are instead composed of families of Italians, who came as fishing families in the early part of this century; with also some Lebanese, Greeks, and a few others

of miscellaneous Mediterranean origin. Their significance belies their small numbers for they appear to play a mediating role in certain community structures; bridging the Catholic-Protestant, Southerner-New Englander, Urban-Rural dualities which abrade each other at times.

Peacock (1975:204) has spoken of the status which doctors enjoy in the American South. They, along with judges, military leaders, political figures, and clergymen are community heroes in a culture where admiration of leaders is still important. The doctor in St. Augustine has had an especially favored place. As a group, doctors were present in some numbers dating from the early part of the nineteenth century when St. Augustine was a health resort. Unlike their counterparts elsewhere, at mid-twentieth century they still played vital civic roles outside their profession. For example, a medical doctor was mayor during the civil rights demonstrations. They were, until the 1970s, when a schism occurred which resulted in two hospitals and a weakening of their unity, a closed corporate group which championed the conservative ideology of the community. Old residents and much of the Catholic community are served by Flagler Hospital, now about to move from its long-time location in town to a new medical complex on U. S. 1 South. They will then be opposite St. Augustine General Hospital which serves newcomers and part of the old Protestant community. According to informants, the medical

society is no longer a viable organization because of divisiveness in the medical community.

Certain of the men of the Solid Citizen group have blended with those of the Water Street group to form a small leadership cadre in the town, a significant and close-knit group which managed town affairs for many years. Their position has diffused somewhat since the 1970s. These included a rancher, a banker, a doctor, several lawyers, a road contractor, a couple of real estate men, and others with diverse business interests. Several times in the 20th century a single man has surfaced to carry a strong leadership role, almost a political "boss" position. In each of the instances these power brokers came from elsewhere. Once they carved a niche for themselves locally, they rose to positions of significant influence in the community and represented the town to the state and nation.

#### The Laborers

While we have chosen to discuss the Minorcans as a group regardless of their social status, they blend with non-Catholic whites at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. These are members of the unskilled or semi-skilled group who may be Baptist or Pentecostal in persuasion, but more often belong to no church at all. This lower income group, a sizable portion of the corporate population, together with the high percentage of the black population who are at the lower end of the scale, account for much of

the poverty of the town. The whites of this group are often referred to as "locals," but like the term "cracker" in the south, the appellation is frequently extended upward in the social scale to designate natives or near natives of the area.

#### Shores People

The new retirees in town are referred to as "Shores People" after St. Augustine Shores, the first, and still the largest, development built by outside development interests. The enclave is situated on U.S. 1 about eight miles south of the center of St. Augustine. The very expression "from the Shores" conjures up an image of a retired couple from the North living on a fixed income and associating less with the townspeople than with others like themselves. Nevertheless, this is a mixed picture, since with the death of some of the original owners, some of the property has been sold or rented out to younger families.

Shores People, and other immigrant retirees living elsewhere in the area, replicate the traditional religious constellation of the community, with Catholics and Protestants appropriately represented. St. Augustine is known as a congenial retirement area for Catholics. Separate churches of most denominations have been built close to the main retirement cluster to service these new residents, and their separate geographical position displaces them from many segments of St. Augustine life.

Their own conception of themselves as outsiders is enhanced by the number of cars, usually of a substantial Detroit make, to be seen about with Shores signs displayed in the front license spot.

It is difficult to arrive at the exact number of retirees in the greater St. Augustine area, but it would appear that this group constitutes almost one-third of the population. A market profile (Beldon Research Associates 1987) for the St. Augustine Record, covering approximately the same area as I have designated as the St. Augustine community, shows 27% retired, while 37% of the population is over fifty-five years of age. The median age of adults in the area is forty-five years whereas the national median is forty years. The number of retired people claiming St. Augustine as home appears to be increasing.

#### The Coquina Crowd

Another significant group for discussion is a relatively new one in community studies, and its nexus is ideological. In tourist centers of any historical or ethnic importance, money and other resources are being used more and more to preserve and interpret the historical or traditional heritage. Communities are assisted in displaying themselves in an "authentic" yet attractive way for visitors. The professional work involved has an economic rationale, but those professionals--historians, archeologists, historic architects, anthropologists,

curators, museum people, and city planners--often have a dedication and zeal, bordering on the religious, over and above material gain.

This reform movement, and I believe that it can be called that given the revitalization enthusiasm of its practitioners, began in St. Augustine with the formation in the late 1950s of the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, later renamed the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, a state agency. Plans were then being formulated to properly showcase the town at the time of the quadricentennial in 1965.

Precursors had existed. The St. Augustine Historical Society, an organization started in the 19th century by the town's elite, was the principal arbiter of historical representations and scholarship. Later the National Park Service entered the scene taking over the management of the old fort from the Historical Society and adding Fort Matanzas at the southern tip of Anastasia Island as well. The decision by the state of Florida to underwrite research and preservation in the town effectively moved such activity from a gentleman's avocation to a professional and business activity.

For convenience, professionals engaged in this work and others affiliated in principle with them will be called "Coquina Ethic People." Grimes (1976:26) has described a parallel group in his study of Santa Fe, New Mexico, as

those with an "adobe ethic." The ideology of such groups revolves around authenticity, preservation, accurate restoration, and proper interpretation. The villains are fakery, tourist sleaze, cheap gift shops, garish signs, and on and on.

The adherents of this group are now a powerful force in the town, and for a small city constitute a sizable group. Adherence to strictly held precepts rather than social or class background is important. At the center are the educated professionals, several of whom are nationally known. Others are drawn from local groups. One calls to mind at least one Minorcan, several Water Streeters, and a solid citizen. Even one of the non-Minorcan Mediterraneans previously mentioned can be counted. More or less connected are some of the Flagler College faculty, hired interpreters at historic sites who have adopted strong convictions about authentic display, some of the small art colony, and the reenactors. The last became prominent during the Bicentennial in 1976, and are a local counterpart of reenactment groups in historical cities all over the United States.

The prizing of the past, the preservation, even freezing, of towns or parts of communities as museum displays, is a movement in evidence all over the world. Greenwood (1972;1977) in his study of Fuenterrabia, Spain, found a comparable group in a decision-making position in

the town. In the United States, credentialing of the past is part of a coming of age of the nation, even a new kind of patriotism, part of the things "that made America great." The fact that the consumers are tourists seems almost incidental at times. The value system of the Coquina Ethic group in St. Augustine is so pervasive and of such moral strength that outright opposition has been meager. Occasionally a home owner complains that "they won't even let me tear down an old broken down garage," but more commonly opposition is devious or couched in the rhetoric of progress, attracting more tourists and the like. It is difficult to fight an elite constituency which presents itself as above crass commercialism, whose dedication is to improve the historical image of the entire town as it presents itself to the World.

#### Other Social Groups

Several exotic elements have been added to the community in the past few years. A small group of families of East Indian extraction add their colorful dress to the landscape. While some are doctors and their families, others operate economy motels and restaurants, and other small tourist related businesses.

A little known fact is that St. Augustine has a small "Spanish Harlem" (an informant who is a leader in the black community used this expression). Within this decade a few

Cuban and Puerto Rican migrant laborers moved into Lincolnville. At first they were almost invisible because they followed the migrant labor circuit for most of the year, but gradually some have found jobs in town. The majority speak Spanish and interact with a certain part of the black group.

Also, a group of German nationals, living mostly in one condominium complex, spend a good portion of the year in the community. The German-American club, Octoberfests, and an annual concert by an imported German band are now a part of the St. Augustine scene.

Another small group is composed of those who are frequently referred to in St. Augustine as "hippies." They are those of the counter-culture generation who prefer to remain outside of the American cultural mainstream, rejecting commercial values and living a "free" lifestyle. While some reside in the town all year, others summer in the north and winter in St. Augustine. They were at their most visible a few years ago in demonstrations for a local midwife whom the medical profession attempted to prevent from practicing in the community. The case received state and national attention.

Some of the counter-culture group live on boats at the city dock and on the San Sebastian River and are part of what are locally known as the "Boat People." However, the Boat People are not easily classified because there are

several enclaves. The older boat residents are the ones more likely to be winter residents only, while the year-around boat dwellers tend to be younger, including a small group of Flagler College students. The younger group, below the age of forty-five, have their own celebrations, notably at Halloween and Easter.

The art colony in the town has waxed and waned since becoming part of the scene in the 19th century. Presently it is building up again, and, if dabblers are counted along with professionals and serious amateurs, the number may be as high as one thousand. That art is scheduled to receive bed tax funds speaks to the growing significance of the sector.

#### Politics

St. Augustine is at heart a conservative community; some even use the word reactionary. Hartley (1972:2) concluded that "St. Augustine was one of the most conservative cities in the United States in the early 1960s, even by north Florida and southern standards." Some amelioration of this stance has been evident in the last two decades, although such counterdrift falls far short of altering the basic character of the community.

Traditionally the community has aligned with the political right in every major state election of the century with the exception of the vote in 1916 against Sidney J. Catts, whose anti-Catholic campaign was part of his

platform. In recent years the county vote has been Republican in national elections. Although a two-thirds majority of the voters in the county are registered Democrats, in the presidential elections there were landslide votes for Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, while the community showed a majority for Gerald Ford when Jimmy Carter was elected. In the recent election for United States Senator the county vote was for Republican Paula Hawkins when statewide the election was won by Democrat Bob Graham.

Conservatism takes ascendance over party or southern allegiance. Religious adherence, family autonomy, anti-taxes, non-union, American patriotism, pro-military, anti-abortion, sports-minded, pro-segregation, free enterprise, have all been part of the world view of a majority of the town's citizens through its recent history.

Occasionally these firm lines have provided fertile soil for organizations such as the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan, whose declining influence in recent times speaks to the increasing cosmopolitan mien of the community. At the end of the 1960s the Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) initiating chapter was formed in St. Augustine, in protest to the PTA whose liberal stance in the country, particularly its stand on racial integration, was deplored.

What of internal politics? Until recently, as described, a closely interacting business and professional

class furnished the controlling leadership, and the City Commission was the center of action. In the early territorial and statehood years of American occupation a moiety system was evident in the election of Minorcan/Catholic majority commissions alternating with Anglo/Protestant majority commissions. Such oscillation was not a matter of each constituency tossing the other out, but rather appears to have been related to several factors including ward boundaries and personal prestige unrelated to group membership. The net result seems to have been a gentleman's informal agreement on town governance so that neither constituency went too far out of the prevailing structure, and economic and political stability was therefore maintained.

Later commissions did not present as clear a picture, and eventually in the 1970s blacks and women were elected. By then, however, much of the decision making had moved to the County Commission, the Chamber of Commerce, and various state bodies. This shift was occasioned by the declining tax base of the town as more and more land came under tax-free ownership. The virtual impossibility of expanding corporate limits under existing law was also a factor. The increasing interest of outside developers in constructing tourist facilities, condominiums, malls, and service facilities outside the town boundaries moved the primary economic decision making process to the County Commission.

Meanwhile the city is faced with making political judgments affecting the historic nature of the old town area.

That the old order changeth is graphically illustrated by the movement now underway to change the five county commission districts. Presently commissioners are elected by a county-wide vote but each must reside in a separate district, one of the five which "pie" into the town. This gerrymandering has insured town control of the county. It maintains still the old Spanish city-state format where a town's domain was all the surrounding area up to the often disputed line claimed by another town. Planned redistricting in St. Augustine calls for single member districts with the boundaries more representative of county constituencies.

#### Tourism

The problem of tourist development and local control has been dealt with extensively in the tourism literature. One model delineates a process whereby local control and initiative are superceded by outside money and power once a certain quantitative and qualitative level of tourism is reached (Greenwood 1972; Noronha 1977). However, Peck and Lepie (1977), among others, argue that such development can take one of several paths. In this vein, Cohen (1979) has divided tourism systems into those growing organically from within as opposed to those which are induced from outside.

St. Augustine's course has been mixed encompassing periods of growth induced from the outside--the Flagler Period and the present decade--interspersed with periods when tourism grew and was managed locally. Although the Flagler Period produced irreversible effects, generally it is concluded that the tourist industry has had the advantage of building slowly through time so that small operators and local control are still in existence. From the old days of word-of-mouth and some sporadic advertising, attraction of tourists is now being professionalized. National and international markets are being tapped so that the town is on bus tour routes, and cruise boats dock regularly. Within town, tourists move about on foot, or take trailer trains or horse drawn carriages.

Seasonal, yearly, and unpredictable cycles exist. Feast and famine where tourists are concerned is expected and the town adapts to the ebb and flow. Reverberations of large or small cycles in the wider world affect numbers and kinds of tourists. The gasoline shortage of the mid 1970s was devastating to the local economy, and the closedown of some factories in the North provided an unexpected tourist bonanza one winter. Some shifts in tourism are easily explained. For example, the summer tourist season in St. Augustine was shortened when a trend to earlier fall school openings occurred in the north. It seems somewhat humorous that this small town's pocketbook should be affected by a

complex chain of events that started with a series of colder winters in the north, which led to lost school days for children due to snow which, eventually led northern state and local school boards to move school starting dates into late August. Recently some northern area schools are also recessing for a week or more in February to save fuel, leading to increased spring visitation in St. Augustine and other Florida destinations.

Some shifts defy explanation. The summer of 1986 was a prime example. A good season was expected because it was thought that tension abroad would cause Americans to vacation closer to home, and, conversely, the position of the dollar would attract international travelers. As expected, the St. Augustine year started off with a good Easter season, but after a record 30,000 people watched the fireworks on the Fourth of July, the season fell flat. No one knows why. This constant uncertainty is nothing new to the town, and, it would seem, even promotes the closing of ranks that has already been mentioned and the crucial importance of community unity.

Tourism is certainly not confined to historic town visitation but also encompasses use of the natural environment--taking advantage of the wide beaches, less populated than those to the south in Florida, and engaging in water sports such as sailing, surfing, and fishing. Crescent Beach, where summer homes and condos stretch to

north and south along the beach, is an example. Many of the homes are owned by those from nearby towns, such as faculty from the University of Florida at Gainesville, or Palatka businessmen. One condominium complex is a sometime residence of an entire social group from urban Jacksonville. When the University of Florida is in session the traffic to Crescent Beach on a warm weekend day may be bumper to bumper. Most of these day or weekend visitors do not visit historic St. Augustine on a regular basis but may be attracted by special events or can be found "doing the town" when they are rained out at the beach.

Good weather or the right time of year fills the campgrounds between Crescent Beach and St. Augustine Beach, and in Vilano Beach as well. Several times a year resorts host annual sporting events such as the Hobie Cat sailing competition at Easter. Nor are tourists lacking in other parts of the county such as Ponte Vedra, an exclusive area with at least a fifty-year resort history.

Once a town is a tourist destination it becomes a mecca for various one time or annual events. As an example, the Wally Byam Caravaners set up a temporary city of their sleek Airstream trailers each Easter season at the county fairgrounds, ten miles west of St. Augustine.

#### The St. Augustine Image

St. Johns County's natural environment partakes of the Florida image of sunshine, wide beaches, palm trees, and a

leisurely, sometimes sensual, lifestyle, or, more properly, vacation style.

The image of historic St. Augustine is incongruent with this tropical paradise image, but carries its own illusion of a romantic past. Its position as the "Oldest City" lends a unique quality. Town boosters are proud of a romantic Spanish tradition, of the grandeur of past times, of the coquina buildings with balconies overhanging narrow streets, of the old world village atmosphere. Visitors are admonished to be sure to visit the old fort, the restored area, Lightner Museum, the Cathedral, the "Oldest House", and other points of interest. The Chamber of Commerce literature describes the town as follows:

Boasting the credentials of the oldest permanent settlement in the United States, St. Augustine has spread its singular charm from an Atlantic Ocean boundary on the east to the St. Johns River on the west. Visitors from all over the world come by the millions each year to relive the Old World Flavor of the nation's "first city." [St. Augustine/St. Johns County Chamber of Commerce 1985:5]

This is not to indicate universal pride on the part of community people. Many, and this includes some descendants of old families, are ahistorical and the attractiveness of the town to outsiders is of no relevance in their lives. The scrawled graffiti on the post of the Public Market in the Plaza, "Locals are number 1," demonstrates outright hostility.

Visitors are not themselves without ambivalence about the town. As one said, "I like St. Augustine, and everyone does, and generally without knowing why; one is bored to death half the time, and yet fascinated with the place; it is so quaint, old and different from any other place in America" (Barnes and Fairbanks 1933:54). Although this sentiment could have been expressed today, it is, in fact, the diary entry of a young girl visiting the town in the 1870s.

#### Symbolism

St. Augustine is rich in symbols, those signifiers or emblems which as shorthand representations stand for the whole. The following list is not meant to be exhaustive, but the main sacred and secular symbols are presented.

Coquina, the conglomerate rock ubiquitous in St. Augustine architecture, has already been mentioned. It is itself a diffuse symbol whose meaning is articulated through the buildings which have become symbols--notably the fort, the city gate, the houses of the town, and the facades of the Ponce de Leon and Alcazar Hotels which are made of crushed coquina cement. The watch tower at the northeast corner of the fort is frequently used as a symbol for St. Augustine. Its simple, distinctive lines and its "sentinel quality" project a message of protection. Sometimes a tower on one of the Flagler Hotels, a later day bastion, is used to demonstrate Victorian times. The city gate likewise

stands for protection, but also includes welcome in its message. A street scene when used emphasizes coquina houses with balconies overhanging a narrow street. The "Oldest House," employed sometimes to typify the town, combines the usual St. Augustine house form with a curving palm tree beside it, thereby combining the exotic and tropical with the Old World look.

The morion, or conquistador helmet as it is popularly called, has long been attached to the town because of its special meaning for the founder myth. It is quite commonly used on advertising signs, T-shirts, stationery, restaurant menus, etc. Another head covering, the crown, is used as a signifier for representations of Spanish royalty.

The Spanish royal coat of arms, that of Ferdinand and Isabella, with its quartered lions and castles, is frequently seen. It has served as the logo for the City of St. Augustine, for example. In the past, the red and yellow flag bearing this design, actually a royal standard, was widely assumed by St. Augustinians and other Floridians to have been the flag of Spain which flew over Florida. Other flags serve as symbols of the nations which have ruled St. Augustine.

The most significant symbol of all is the cross and sword, fused as one icon. This particular symbol did not come into prominence in St. Augustine until the modern era, but is of considerable antiquity in the Spanish tradition.

Menéndez, while he did not bear a hereditary title, nor did he carry the honorific "don" before his name, was a member of the order of Santiago. This prestigious order was a blend of the religious and military, and Menéndez, therefore, wore the special red sword-shaped cross that was its insignia (Schwaller 1988:299-300).

One of the first times that the cross and sword symbol was used to represent the town of St. Augustine, however, was in a museum exhibit installed in the Oldest House Museum in 1955. The exhibit was dramatically arranged and lighted so that the sword cast a shadow which looked like the cross. This signification of aggressive Christianity is now one of the most commonly used for the town. Cross and Sword is the name of the historical play performed nightly at the amphitheater during the summer season. It is "Florida's official state play" and is based on the founding of the town and the story of Menéndez and an Indian maiden. It was written by Paul Green who wrote outdoor historical dramas for other colonial areas such as Williamsburg, Virginia.

The cross and the sword are sometimes used separately, but then they do not carry the unique St. Augustine message. An illustration is the large cross erected at the Catholic Shrine at the time of the Quadricentennial.

Mullet is a humorous St. Augustine signifier. As the commonest and most easily obtained fish in St. Augustine waters, it symbolizes lowly food available for everyone.

The local paper is sometimes facetiously referred to as the "mullet wrapper", and once the high school football team was called "The Fighting Mullets."

The Chamber of Commerce stationery contains a number of the symbols mentioned. The logo used is a quartered shield with the four quarters containing the lion, the castle, the United States eagle, and the Great Seal of the State of Florida. A cross, shaped like one carried by the crusaders, is centered in the division of the shield. On top is a section proclaiming "400th anniversary" and below is "1565, St. Augustine, 1965" on a furl. The whole is topped by a bearded conquistador wearing a morion. Likewise, stationery for the city of St. Augustine has a color run of the Spanish royal coat of arms poised above the city gate with palm trees in the background.

#### A Festive December Day

The first Saturday in December, in the mid-1980s, embraces three elements. It is Pal Day, an annual event begun in 1957, significantly the year which marked the beginning of other modern festivals in the town. Sponsored by the USO, it hosts a courtesy day in St. Augustine for servicemen and their families from surrounding areas, drawing mainly from the Jacksonville military installations. Service personnel are asked to dress in uniform for easy identification. Free admission is given to most local attractions and a gratis ham dinner is served at the Elks

Club. Pal Day is described as a "day of thanks to those who serve our country."

Secondly, this is the day that the annual Christmas parade, sponsored by the Jaycees and downtown merchants section of the Chamber of Commerce, takes place. Such events occur in towns and cities all over the United States, initiating the Christmas cycle. Christmas in U.S. culture is of overriding importance socially and commercially, the one big festival of the year. Part of its central position in the festival calendar stems from its celebration of the Holy Family which mirrors the prevalent nuclear family kinship form in the United States. It also reifies children in this child-oriented culture.

That military families are chosen for this honor is no accident. Military personnel have been ubiquitous in St. Augustine from the time that Spanish soldiery set foot on local soil in the sixteenth century to the present day when the Florida National Guard has its state headquarters in the old English barracks (earlier a Spanish convent) in the southern end of town next to the National Cemetery.

After some minor events during the afternoon, the third major component of the day is the Christmas Illumination and Night Watch Ceremony. This event, earlier called the Grand Illumination Ceremony, was initiated in the early 1970s in anticipation of the U. S. Bicentennial, and honored the English occupation of St. Augustine in the 18th century.

Initially, it was not on the same Saturday in December as Pal Day.

The Illumination in honor of the English was so successful that a counterpart event, the Spanish Illumination and Night Watch, which takes place in the summer, was added in the late 1970s. The complementary Anglo and Spanish elements are affirmed in these twin events.

The Grand Illumination is sponsored by Coquina Ethic/preservation interests. The Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, the state agency, was instrumental in starting the ceremony. Later the local reenactment groups took over much of the responsibility and instituted a military encampment for comparable reenactment units from other communities. The Grand Illumination then became the high point of the encampment weekend.

The December Illumination has a vague connection with local history. The Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin is positioned on December 8th in the Catholic liturgical calendar. From the documents we know that this feast day was celebrated at least until 1821 in St. Augustine by the lighting of festive candles in the windows of homes of the town on December 7th and 8th. Modern organizers and celebrants are probably unaware of this bridge to the past.

The fusion of a number of elements which we have been describing is graphically illustrated by a photograph accompanying a newspaper story (*St. Augustine Record*, December 3, 1982) on the 25th anniversary of Pal Day (Figure 5). A serviceman and his family are shown being greeted by a costumed Menéndez holding a sword. The husband's and wife's arms rest on a Christmas parade float titled "The Annunciation." Only Santa Claus, the secular deity of the day, is missing, although perhaps Menéndez as the symbol of the "giving city" and its founding father is his representative.

The two parades which anchor the day at the beginning and the end (although the Illumination is more properly a procession), are structurally speaking a marking of the geographical bounds. Neville (1979) describes a similar form called the "common ridings" for the burgh-centered towns of southern Scotland. Such ridings demarcated the traditional boundary lines and championed the unsullied unity (in diversity) of the cities in which they took place. The symbolic human line of townspeople, expatriates, and visitors traversing the bounded space provides a strong emotional link with the past and with the present community. It serves the individual with a visceral affirmation of his position with his fellows in the known world.

Figure 6 shows the routes of the two parades in 1986 in St. Augustine. The Christmas parade follows the same route



Figure 5. Pal Day Visitors

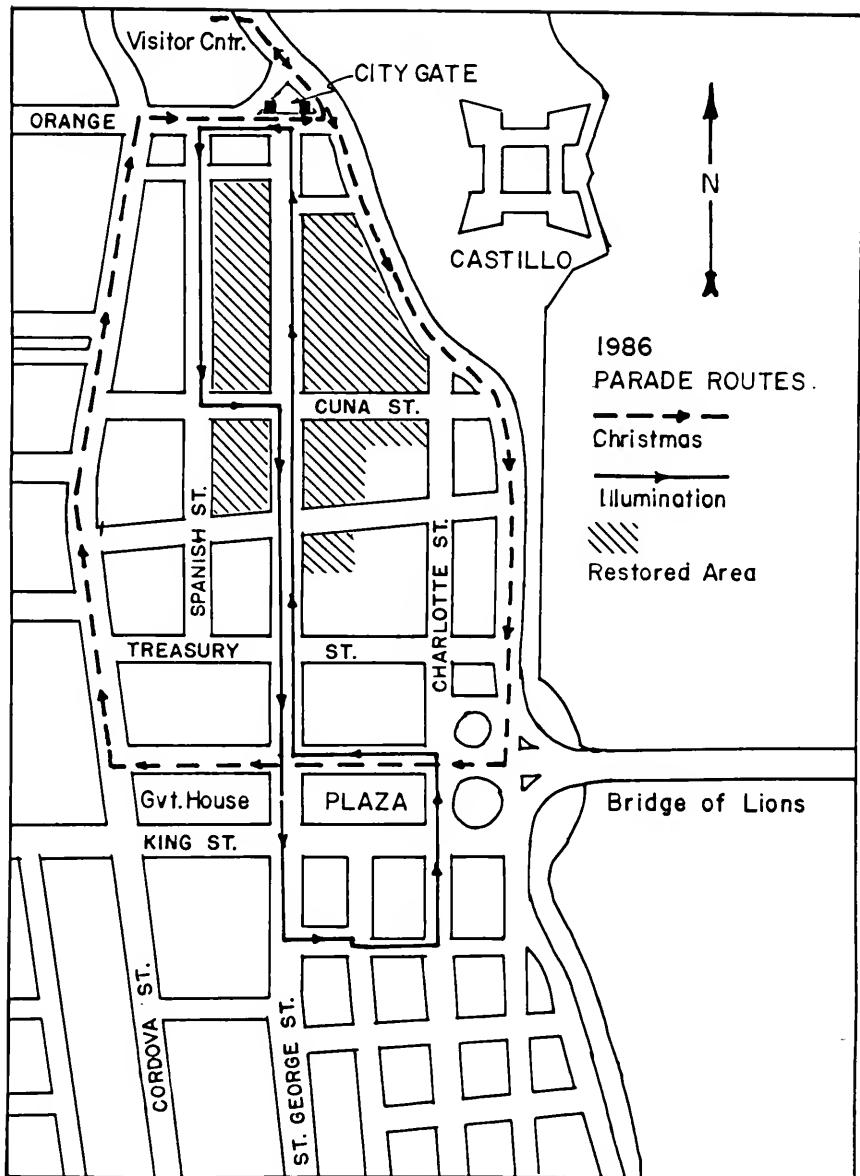


Figure 6. Parade Routes.

year after year while the Grand Illumination route has varied during its history. In the year illustrated, the two routes coincided in two places--by the Plaza, the middle of the old town and still the symbolic center of the community, and, second, along the northern boundary of the town by the City Gate. The gate faces northward toward the only side unprotected by water, the side from which attack by land sometimes came. It is also the direction from which tourists customarily enter the town today. Moreover, it is from the northward direction that those bent on economic development intrude, and it is from this direction that Jacksonville is slowly creeping southward.

The Christmas parade bounds the historic Minorcan Quarter, now, as noted, the section of town which is tourist space. The Illumination takes the customary tourist routes down past the plaza to the the south in a two block loop, and back to St. George Street, then through the restored area with another loop back to St. George Street and hence again to the plaza. The tourist street has then been twice traversed. Looked at in another way, the Christmas Parade route exactly bounds the tourist preserve, providing a containment of that area, while the Illumination route penetrates the modern-day tourist zone.

Personnel in the two events also show a contrast. Of all the public events during the year the Christmas parade draws the most representative mix of local citizens. The

crowd also tends to be younger than is frequently the case at St. Augustine events. Black family visibility is greater than at any other time. Black organizations and associations enter floats and units, and for several years a Black Santa Claus threw candy from the back of a pickup truck, much as his white counterpart tosses candy from his perch on the back of a fire engine. Virtually the only outsiders are the Pal Day families which are, however, there in considerable numbers. The true character of the event's participants is illustrated by the surprise of two anthropologists visiting in 1982 who noted the "working class look" of most of the local spectators.

The Illumination stands in contrast. A rough count of those present for the affair in 1986 showed a nearly equal three part distribution. About one-third were tourists, including a few Pal Day visitors, but mainly other regional visitors with quite a number from Jacksonville, as confirmed by a car license survey. Another third were new or relatively new residents of the town, mostly Shores people. Lastly, there were local people, mainly coquina ethic adherents, civic leaders, and town boosters. Visiting reenactment groups, which had been invited and were camped in the backyards of several of the exhibit buildings of the state preservation board, constituted an element partaking of the local preservation ethic and also representing a special kind of tourist.

The structure and content of the two events may now be examined. The Christmas parade separates participants--floats, bands, and other riding and walking units--from onlookers. This separation does not preclude some interaction between the two constituencies, however. Santa's candy-tossing creates interaction all along the route. Sometimes spectators break into Christmas caroling. High school bands, those with a high black membership, are doing the characteristic short-stepping, or jive-walking as it is sometimes called, and black youths may step out of the crowd to join in for half a block or so. Naturally, there is also the calling out to friends or relatives in the parade on the part of the spectators.

Characteristically a theme is chosen, frequently something related to St. Augustine's history. In 1982 it was "Historic Pages of Christmas Through the Ages." A number of floats each year carry religious themes, some Catholic, others frankly Protestant, a few with ambiguous messages such as one entitled "Christianity Comes to America 1565." On that float a priest was shown greeting a male figure who could have been either Ponce de León or Menéndez, while a female figure in characteristic 18th century British dress stood to the side in this encounter tableau.

As in the foregoing, dress is often confused as to eras, although in some years the reenactment people marching in the parade lend more authenticity. Generally a

conquistador helmet or a tricorn hat serves to indicate past times for the men and a long full dress carries the historic message for the women. A long dress of brocade, satin and lace with a crown on the head is the icon for royalty. The St. Augustine Royal Family is so attired; these representatives of the grandeur of the town's "royal" Spanish past are the visible manifestations of the Minorcan revitalization movement to be treated more fully in Chapter III.

The role of Santa Claus bears closer scrutiny. He is, it might be said, the most welcome snowbird of them all, the seasonal tourist who receives the warmest welcome. In addition to the white and black Santas in the parade, if we travel south on U.S.1 we find still another counterpart enthroned in splendor in the center of the Ponce de Leon Mall, a role enacted each year by a retiree from the Shores. The white parade Santa, is strictly the economic envoy of the Downtown Merchants Association. After spreading his bounty to the children and blowing kisses to the good looking girls during the parade, he is positioned in the plaza to hear the Christmas lists of the children. Merchants that afternoon keep longer hours in anticipation of additional business. Symbolically, one year in a vivid color-run in the local newspaper, Santa was shown descending in his sleigh through the City Gate.

In the Christmas parade, besides Santa Claus, various deities and royalty are represented--Santa Claus, Menéndez, sometimes Ponce de León, the Virgin Mary and Jesus, usually as a baby, and the St. Augustine Royal Family. However, in spite of its local flavor, the Christmas parade could take place in "Anytown", USA, whereas the Illumination Ceremony has unique aspects which make it a drawing card for tourists. Let us take a closer look at the typical Illumination event of recent years.

The 1986 flyer announcing the occasion was titled "Night Watch and Illumination Ceremony", while the schedule of events on the same announcement was headed "Christmas Illumination 1986." It was described as follows:

This ceremony is based on a military routine practiced during the 18th century in British frontier garrison towns. Every evening, as a precaution against surprise attack or civil disorder, the gates of the town were locked, a guard posted, and citizens required to carry lights as they walked the streets. On certain ceremonial occasions, the troops embellished the procedure with music, drills, and a "Volley of Joy" from their muskets. 18th century military regulations clearly outline the procedure. Half an hour before sunset, troops marched from each gate to the governor's house to collect the keys, after which they returned to the gates, posted a guard, and locked the portals. The keys were then sent back to the governor. Once the gates were locked, citizens who went about were obligated to carry lights so that they could be seen and identified. After the gate was secured, the regulations read and the guard posted, troops of the garrison fire a Volley of Joy to salute their King, George III.

In the modern ceremony, local and visiting reenactment groups march from a position near the City Gate to the Plaza where they assemble on the east side of Government House, a historic reconstruction of the governor's residence and office in colonial times, now housing the state preservation offices. On the balcony of this structure, the dignitaries are waiting.

Meanwhile, a sizable group of people has gathered expectantly in the plaza. Mostly these are middle class, with some of the more affluent visitors easily identified as what the shopkeepers in town refer to as the "Mercedes Crowd." Word of mouth usually brings regional visitors, and some have been attracted by publicity given to the festivity in recent years in slick magazines such as Southern Living. In the 1986 event a new element was added, a few middle class blacks, several of them local.

A certain number of the local people are set apart by wearing historic dress. Newspaper articles encourage the wearing of "simple" 18th century attire. This authentic tone is violated in some instances by dress of the wrong period, particularly by the newcomer retirees, while those of the Coquina Ethic and civic leaders are in proper "period dress." The word "costume" is never, never used. In-group strictures call for exact clothing replicas, hand-sewn preferred, of historic materials--no polyester, no zippers, no jewelry except for a few approved types such as crosses

or historically correct glasses. Properly, no underwear is worn, although transgressions along this line are difficult to detect. Visiting reenactment groups show variations through the uniforms of the units which they portray, and their camp-followers display some regional variations, but still all of the correct time period. Diversity here lends an exotic note, although not far off the mix that might have been present in St. Augustine during the American Revolution when the town was a Loyalist haven. It is not surprising that the St. Augustine Royal Family with its elaborate trappings is not among the invited participants; one of the few public events in St. Augustine where The Family fails to appear. (See Chapters III and IV for extensive treatment of the St. Augustine Royal Family).

Every year confusion is evident among the bystanders as to what is going to happen and when. New, or relatively new, residents can often be heard explaining the event to visitors (sometimes inaccurately), putting themselves thereby within the community fold.

In 1986 disarray was evident on the balcony which was interpreted by the crowd as "maybe they are waiting for the mayor, or the announcer, or somebody." Minutes dragged on, and a few of the Pal Day visitors with tired, cranky children could be seen leaving. After a while some of the audience broke out spontaneously singing Christmas carols. Eventually, the fifes and drums were heard in the distance,

and the crowd clapped, either in appreciation or relief that some sort of event was to begin at last.

Several performances take place as the marchers settle in on the street below the balcony. In 1986 a bagpipe band from North Carolina played several numbers, and a military group performed a street drill. Then attention turned to the announcer on the balcony who called for an opening prayer, given always by a Protestant clergyman for the Christmas Illumination, while Catholic priests offer the religious note at the summer Spanish Nightwatch. The announcer injected some humor by reading the standing orders to the troops; there were orders to be clean, and not to molest chickens belonging to the townspeople or to catch their rabbits--bringing giggles from the crowd. The mayor, representing the colonial governor, doffed his tricorn and made a speech of welcome in an 18th century colonial vein. The mayor in 1986 was especially representative, being of Minorcan descent, with a master's degree in history, and the owner of a mensware store on the tourist street.

Spectators were admonished to light candles or lanterns and make ready to fall into the line of march. Some years the newspaper has printed directions for making a lantern from a tin can, and cuffed candles are for sale to tourists during the week before the event. The torchbearers who will lead the procession light their torches, attempting to shelter them from the wind.

First behind the torches come the local dignitaries. One year the procession was led by three nuns from the local Sisters of St. Joseph, not entirely in line with the English Protestant theme, but remarked on favorably by the bystanders. Then come the military and musical units, followed by the reenactment camp followers and some of the local coquina ethic people in period dress. The crowd then begins to fall in behind, some jockeying for position near the front.

The transversing of ritual space with participation open to all celebrants who subscribe to a greater or lesser degree to the reenactment of this mythical historical narrative is most properly called a procession. Whether it is sacred or secular, or a mixture of both, we shall lay aside for the moment. Grimes (1976:62) has noted that "the typical activities involved in processions are walking, carrying, showing, viewing, praying, singing, and being seen." Stopping at way stations could be added as a common feature, although this is more characteristic of pilgrimage. Various subevents at way stations were tried in the early years of the Illumination but have now been eliminated because of the size of the crowd.

The impact of the Illumination Procession is hard to describe in words. The flickering light of the brilliant torches highlighting the rippling standards and glancing off the textured coquina walls in the narrow streets is mimicked

by the bobbing light of the candles and lanterns. The candlelit faces of the marchers float like a stream of masks in the darker streets. The cadence of the stirring music is echoed in the marching feet, reverberating down the line to the last shuffling walkers.

The procession route and timing could barely take care of the thousands in the procession in 1986. At the end of the procession a group completely out of range of the front pageantry, began to sing Christmas carols picking up the rhythm with their marching feet. Some, unhappy at being so far from the action, took short cuts to get close to the lead while others dropped out to return to the plaza to wait along with the few who did not join the procession at all.

Not all return to the plaza for the ending ceremony. In 1986 an estimated one third of those who started in the procession returned to the plaza, all participants falling into the same configuration as in the opening sequence. The announcer, as always, gives a little talk to the effect that the city is now once again secure from the enemy and all is well, then triumphantly proclaims that a volley of joy will be fired. In 1986 the splendor of the volley was unequaled, for, after a few firing displays by individual units, the riflemen combined to fire fifty muskets in unison. The deafening roar was met by enthusiastic response from the crowd as a large sulfurous cloud of smoke drifted toward the waterfront.

After this display the scheduled Christmas carol singing was anticlimactic, not nearly as spirited as the earlier spontaneous caroling, more mechanical. The crowd sang, one after the other, carols whose words were printed out on a page which had been passed out to the crowd after the return to the plaza. Nevertheless, when questioned, those remaining seemed to think that the carols were a good ending.

Actually, the event did not end with the caroling. A number of the local people made their way back up St. George Street to the encampment for rum punch and conviviality--a "jollification" as it is quaintly called. Some years the gate to this party has been monitored by a uniformed guard, speaking in 18th century English fashion, to keep out those not dressed in period clothes, although frequent exceptions were made for well known townspeople. In 1985 and 1986 in an attempt to keep it from being an exclusive event, it was announced at the plaza that all were welcome to visit the jollification. A few adventurous souls from out of town did so. In 1987 no such announcement was made and the party was in a more obscure area than previously. In the very early years nonalcoholic beverages and cakes were served on the plaza, but this became unmanageable once the crowds increased. In the earlier, years, too, the drinking of alcoholic beverages was in evidence, but after the city

passed a law banning public drinking the Illumination took on a sober cast.

#### Discussion

The December day celebration described above illustrates several explanatory models of ritual. It closely approximates the rite of passage model articulated by Arnold van Gennep in the first part of this century. Originally published in French, his definitive work was later translated into English (van Gennep 1960). He distinguished three phases of the rite of passage-- separation, transition, and incorporation. The first phase clearly separates sacred from secular time, positing a new realm where, as a given, ordinary roles and modes of being are temporarily suspended. Symbolic of this phase is literally, or figuratively, crossing a threshold. After the portals of the new region have been passed, persons are in a communal state, communitas he calls it, all in the same boat, it might be said. In this new context a territorial passage is effected, a liminal phase, which eventuates in changes in the actors in this personal or cultural drama. The last phase replaces the subjects back into the secular realm, incorporating them again into ordinary society, but now in a new status or interaction mode. Such rites are of two kinds; those for individuals, such as those marking life cycle changes of birth, puberty, marriage and death, and those for groups or whole societies passing through

transitions. As elaborated by van Gennep, the former was analyzed in detail while the latter was neglected.

Taking off from the above model, Chapple and Coon (1942) designated community passages as "rites of intensification," saying that the rite of passage "restores equilibrium in a system after crisis involving an individual while the [rite of intensification] restores equilibrium for a group after a disturbance affecting all or most of its members" (Chapple and Coon 1942:507).

More recently, Victor Turner (1979) has again looked at the problem of easing community change through ritual, be it a dramatic one-time change such as setting out to war, or regularly recurring, usually seasonal, alteration in group interaction.

All of Pal Day can be seen as a community rite of passage. It marks the transition from the fallow period, September into December, when tourists are much fewer in number, to the winter, spring, and summer seasons when more than one million people will visit the town. Service families, reenactors, and Santa Claus are welcomed as "Pals," resolving some of the negative feelings engendered by the yearly tourist invasion to come, an influx which produces different modes of community interaction and puts a strain on the infrastructure.

The City Gate is the symbolic doorway to the town, for Santa Claus and for the Illumination. The Christmas parade

is a drama to watch, a show for insiders and outsiders. Its juxtaposition of clowns and comic elements with sacred themes, a paradox mediated by the role of Santa Claus, is a legacy of the Carnivals or rituals of rebellion of past times.

The Illumination is not simply a show for outsiders, but includes them in the action, and in this sense, as well as in its structure, more properly fits the community rite of passage model. As such, its position at the end of the day is appropriate, as it draws strangers more closely--but not too closely--into the community context. Coquina Ethic people and new residents buffer the outsiders from the "true" community in this performance. Nevertheless, outsiders undergo a "temporary rite of incorporation" as they assimilate, however briefly, to the communal ideal.

Some of the elements are obvious. The speeches from the balcony set people in a past time warp, marking it off from the present by dress, manner of speech, candle lighting, and the admonishment which ends the separation phase, "Let the festivities begin!"

Initiatory passage rites, Turner (1979:17) has argued, tend to "put people down", while seasonal rites tend to "set people up." In a sense, the Illumination does both, humbling the initiates by suggesting "simple 18th century dress," while elevating them, however fleetingly, to town citizenship.

Lighting the torches, candles and lanterns marks the beginning of the territorial passage. The lighting of lights as a magical practice at the time of the winter solstice is a practice stretching back into antiquity. The encouragement of the return of light at the time of the winter solstice, simulating light against darkness (and death), is pan-human. In St. Augustine, as stated, the lighting of lights to the Virgin in households on December 7th and 8th in Spanish times was one of the antecedents of the Illumination drama. In fact in the first year or two of the modern ceremony's existence, candles were to be lit in the windows of the town as the procession reached each house or shop, although this was later dropped as impractical.

After the territorial passage of the procession, a return to normal, to the regular world, is signaled by, "the town is secure, and all is well." Then the "Volley of Joy" gives the ambiguous message of aggression against outsiders at the same time that their advent is honored with joy.

We are finally to the matter of sacred versus secular in Pal Day. While sacred elements are important in the Christmas parade, the secular, mercantile, nature of Christmas in United States culture pervades the scene. Conversely, although the form of the Illumination is secular--embodying military, political, and town containment elements--the procession is an old religious form with a long credential in the town. In spite of the English

emphasis of the event, the lighting of lights itself partakes of traditional Catholicism in St. Augustine.

#### Concluding Remarks

In this chapter the difficult passage of a tourist development tax acted as an entering wedge to clarify community ideology. From this we saw how the political and economic conservatism of the community serves as a buttress against inside and outside disruptive forces, contending factors throughout its history.

Community setting, economic and political life, tourism, and town image were described. Community subgroups were outlined to give further insight. Interwoven were the modernization problems now being faced as outside development interests threaten to engulf the community and wrest control from its citizens.

Using these background materials, a festive day in December was described, a day anchored at each end by very different kinds of parades. Pal Day initiates the winter tourist season after three relatively tourist-free months, and through incorporation of invited strangers readies the community for a period of intense economic vitality accompanied by the stresses of hosting outsiders. The ritual of the day, and its component units, is an example of the rite of passage experienced by a group under the stress of seasonal alteration. The celebrating mode regularizes the paradoxes of Catholic/Protestant, new/old,

sacred/secular, aggression/altruism, outsider/insider, as once again community order and disorder fight for ascendence.

Several determinants of community form were highlighted. St. Augustine has had a long history of interaction with outsiders, hostile and benign, in its role as "bit player" in the course of World events. Its vulnerability, plus the traditional base of its inhabitants, has led to an ideal of community loyalty. Threats from the outside have been dealt with in several ways. There is a tendency to close ranks when faced with outside intervention, of which resistance to the tourist tax is a recent example. The formation of a brittle shell of festival life serves as a protective device as it asserts the value and worth of the community while serving as a border mechanism to accept strangers on the community's own terms. Pal Day is an illustration. Community balance is along the townsperson-new resident-visitor axis which in turn is nested in the long standing equilibrium of Hispanic Catholic and Anglo Protestant components. The following chapters will examine public festival life in more detail in the light of the above factors.

CHAPTER III  
FESTIVAL HISTORY IN ST. AUGUSTINE

. . . the dassle and brilliancy, of a city, where pomp and pageant triumph and where music floats like incense about the housetops.

Letter written from St. Augustine,  
Florida by Margarette A. Robinson to  
a friend in the north, July 8, 1844.

The year 1958, has been referred to as the beginning of the "tourist diaspora" (Sutton 1980:247), because it is the year of the first jet plane flights. In St. Augustine it was a watershed year for tourism and festival life. With the rapid increase of good roads, automobile tourism was on the rise, a modest affluence was being experienced in the town, and plans were being made for the establishment of the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, the legislation for which was signed into law the following summer. Community spirit was high and new community events were being added, a way of expressing pride in the town as a unique historical community and at the same time to attract tourists.

In this chapter I will trace the beginnings of folk ceremonials, particularly Carnival, and their early impact on winter visitors and tourists. From this we will see how the old traditions lived on in the guise of the splendid Ponce de Leon Celebration, a gentrified Carnival, community

wide in participation, which was grafted on a historical pageant format. The beginning of this celebration coincided nicely with the advent of elite tourism, when for a while Henry Flagler tried to turn the ancient city into a watering place for the rich. However, the Ponce de Leon Celebration did not become an annual festival for some years. A lull, brought on by World War I, the anti-Catholicism which the community experienced, and other factors, was ended by a mild boom period in the 1920s at which time the town resurrected the Ponce de Leon celebration. During the second part of the chapter the beginning of the Easter Festival will be described, including its central feature, the St. Augustine Royal Family. Completing the chapter, there will be a brief description of the devastating blow dealt the town by civil rights disturbances of the 1960s which had an impact on the Easter Festival.

#### Carnival in St. Augustine

When Florida passed from Spanish to American domination in 1821, a traditional Mediterranean ritual cycle was interwoven with daily life in St. Augustine. These ceremonial forms, based on Catholic religious observances with ancient pagan roots, were associated with the traditional yearly agricultural cycles of planting, tending and harvesting of crops, and with the annual rhythms of seafaring life. The Minorcans were the carriers of these traditions since, with a few exceptions, they were the only

Hispanic people whose tenure in the town spanned the British, Second Spanish, and American periods. Along with other woes suffered by the Minorcans as indentured plantation servants was the disruption of their customary work and leisure patterns. Being forced to work on holy days (holidays) was one of the injustices mentioned in depositions taken prior to the breakup of the plantation (Griffin 1977).

As described in Chapter II, they immediately resettled in their familiar village grouping upon reaching St. Augustine, having been forced into an alien dispersed settlement pattern on the plantation. Also resumed was their former economic life of mixed agriculture, small trades, and maritime pursuits, including fishing. Once again they had the comfort of their customary liturgical observances. The joyous exuberance of their celebratory round is nicely described by an African slave who came to St. Augustine in 1817 during the Spanish regime. It is typical of many later observations:

The people were the gayest I can imagine. Serenades, processions, balls, picnics that they called "convites," masquerades, came the year round in constant succession. [For St. Johns Day in June] three days, preceded by many evenings of carnival, were passed in masking in the streets. [Jack Smith n.d.].

For these Mediterraneans, Easter, which marked the start of the harvest of winter crops, and St. Johns Eve on June 23rd which occurred at the end of the main harvest

season, were the two most significant calendrical events. In fact, Carnival in the latter was a scaled down, more intense version of the former, having many of the same features but important differences. Fortunately, the Florida climate, although different from the semi-dry Mediterranean climate, also allows a late spring-early summer harvest period, so that in the New World the two celebrations carried over much of their old meanings. This, it will be noted, is at variance with the Spring rebirth theme more typical of northern climes, where Easter coincides with the planting season, rather than full growth and the harvest.

In its common medieval European guise Carnival was characteristic of both Easter and St. John's Eve. Carnival is described as "collective effervescence" in Durkheim's classical analysis of festivals (Durkheim 1965), and is considered to have had a regularizing influence in the traditional, close-knit communities of the preindustrial World. Status elevation and/or inversion of social groups was one of the mechanisms by which this was accomplished within the ritual frame...The view expressed by Métraux is generally accepted:

Many feasts of the past that included carnivalesque features (masques, costumes, etc.) may be considered as institutions which regularized and ritualized social conflicts. They enabled certain classes of the population (usually the poorest) to make revolutions without really performing them. Feasts then could be described

as safety valves for the established regime [Métraux 1976:8].

To understand Carnival only as functioning as an outlet for frustrations of the lower social classes is, however, to ignore its broader human context. It is true that actual revolts have been launched out of the attendant excitement. Ladurie (1979) has used the sixteenth century revolt and massacre precipitated by Carnival in a small French town to point out the way in which class conflicts play themselves out in the festival to an ultimate conclusion.

In a broader frame, however, it is perhaps more useful to regard festivals such as Carnival as ways of expressing joyous feelings, of celebrating life, of rising above the usual humdrum of daily existence. One could, taking a modern Carnival example, explain American Halloween as ritual rebellion of children against adults, but this partial explanation would rob it of its elements of pure play and enjoyment.

Many folk festivals while attached to the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church have their roots in pagan rites. "The Christian Church," concludes Smith (1975:16), "was, from the beginning, evangelical, gaining membership through conversion of people who already possessed a religion with established festivals. To this end, it began to superimpose its own feasts upon those of its rivals." The form that the amalgam took would then vary with the

cultural substrata of the various areas where the celebrations took place.

We can assume that the festival configurations brought to the New World by the Minorcans in the eighteenth century were those prevailing in their homelands, principally Minorca. The folk Catholicism practiced, with its integral festival round, probably remained intact more than other cultural features because of several factors. First, these settlers were for several decades an isolated node in a British colony, with no other Mediterranean influences, so that the cultural "founder effect" could take place without interference. The two priests who accompanied the colony were themselves men of the people, so they would have set no different standard. Later, in the thirty-five years of the Second Spanish period, the Minorcans formed a majority of the populace, and with the change to the American regime in 1821 they were almost the only Catholics, aside from the blacks, to remain.

At the beginning of the American Era the Church was in some disarray in St. Augustine, resulting in the laity taking control, a control which, through the Board of Church Wardens, continued for some years (Gannon 1967:119-156). During this time, and almost to the date of statehood in 1845, the Catholics of the town practiced their religion as they saw fit with only intermittent intervention from higher church authorities. The folk Catholicism which flourished

allowed festival life to remain relatively unchanged as well.

As celebrated initially in St. Augustine by the Minorcan folk group, Carnival was widely participatory. The pre-Lenten Carnival occupied an extended period from Christmas to Lent, the festivities accelerating to a climax during the last three days before that austere period began. During the celebrations, masquers roamed the streets, entertaining each other and outsiders, sometimes putting on little playlets in village homes. The trick was to adopt a disguise that confounded the families in the homes visited. The groups disguised as Indians were obviously a New World addition. Sometimes such Indian groups were quite large and frequently staged a war dance. "Entering the parlor or hall," an old St. Augustine resident, Matilda D. Taylor, reminisced (St. Augustine Evening Record, February 2, 1916) "a circle was formed by the warriors and squaws, after which the chief would enter so stealthily that it seemed as if he had materialized from the floor, and planting a wooden figure of a man within the circle commenced the dance going through gestures indicative of insult, as kicking, in which he was joined by the warriors, and with the dreadful 'war whoop' and scalping of the victim, the scene was very realistic."

In the days before Ash Wednesday when Carnival was at its height the same chronicler tells us that "in the day

time, floats filled with gaily dressed girls were seen; 'Diabolitos' with pointed caps and bells and long whips were running all through the streets; men dressed in grotesque costumes in carts and on foot were in evidence everywhere, throwing confetti on all who came their way."

A large party of masquers was often accompanied through the town by a band and frequently the party ended in one of the homes where a dance had been arranged. The dances, as described by many nineteenth century observers were the slow and graceful Spanish dances, involving a great deal of measured bending and twisting in perfect time to the music.

Frequently the dances during Carnival were Posey Dances which deserve a special explanation here. A common form in the eighteenth century Hispanic world, they showed regional variations. The Posey Dance as practiced in St. Augustine called for the choice of a Posey King by the presentation of a two small bouquets (poseys) by the hostess to an unsuspecting attendee at the initial dance. He in turn chose a posey queen and the duo put on the next dance at which the queen chose a new king and thus a series of dances was initiated. General Alfred Beckley who was chosen Posey King while he was stationed as a young second lieutenant in St. Augustine in 1825 described the Posey Altar. "The Minorcan ladies prepared an altar of a number of steps or shelves called the Posey Altar, tastefully and profusely decorated with the rich Florida flowers lighted up with wax

candles and it made a splendid spectacle" (Eby 1964). These little events, which can best be described as pre-nuptial displays, had a function of mixing the sexes in unaccustomed combinations, and provided a special avenue for the introduction of strangers into the community matrix.

The Posey Dances point up the inverted role of women in Carnival, for Carnival itself in the Hispanic culture was called the "Festival of the Women," a time for them to be in the ascendancy in a male oriented society (Pitt-Rivers 1961:176). The male and female inversion intertwines with the rich and poor inversion commonly ascribed to Carnival. In parts of Spain, Carnival was actually represented as an old woman, and fittingly enough a common disguise in 19th century St. Augustine was a young girl dressed up as an old woman.

That religious veneration of women was central to Carnival is pointed up by the differing version of the Posey Dance offered in her later years by a female eyewitness. As far as could be discovered this is the only recording of the St. Augustine tradition by a woman. Matilda Taylor was a descendant of the Fatioes, a Swiss family first settling in the town in the middle of the British Period. Based on her own memory, and that of an aunt, she recalls:

Still another custom was the "Posey Ball," in commemoration of the finding of the "True Cross" by Helena, mother of Constantine. For nine nights altars were raised in the house of a very pious and faithful devotee to the Faith and all who were

religiously inclined met and recited solemn litanies. Sometimes these altars were built within the confines of a four-posted bedstead with canopy and curtains, a blaze of light and a bower of flowers. At the end of the Novena, a knight in full dress, whom the mistress of ceremonies had selected, appeared, and from the company chose a queen, presenting her with a posy or bouquet, and led her to the ball ending the Novena. [Taylor 1916].

Several things are of interest here. St. Helena was an old woman when she undertook her travels to find the cross of the crucifixion and, indeed, died at the age of eighty years, most unusual in the 4th century A.D. She was also of humble origin and the mother of a famous son, just as the Virgin Mary was. Bennassar (1979:35) describes the eighteenth century representation of Carnival in Minorca as "an old woman with wrinkled skin, dressed in typical island dress, who carried a piece of cod in one hand, a grill in the other, and had a large rosary fastened around her waist." This could have been a representation of St. Helena also.

The graceful, slow Spanish dances are remarked on by many nineteenth century visitors to the town. Dancing has a strong credential in the Spanish tradition, and is not, as practiced, entirely secular in nature. "What is very remarkable," observes Bennassar (1979:163) discussing this Hispanic feature, "is the invariable association, down to the nineteenth century, of religious celebration and the dance." The women engaging in these dances in St. Augustine

as well as the Minorca of an earlier era took the activity seriously. Armstrong (1756:205), an eighteenth century Englishman, says of the dances in Minorca at that time that a lady's looks were "not at all affected by the diversion; and I have often thought their countenances had more of solemnity and mortification on these occasions, than in the most serious exercises of their religion."

In many European Carnival traditions the grand finale is the symbolic burial of a figure representing the celebration, sometimes an old woman. In St. Augustine, however, the pre-Lenten feast was "buried." "On Shrove Tuesday night," again quoting Matilda Taylor (1916), we are told that "between the hour of eleven and twelve o'clock, the carnival was buried. An elegant supper consisting of the most toothsome viands spread on a long table draped in white and borne on the shoulders of masked men, each with a lighted torch, was carried through the principal streets silently and solemnly as it had been a bier bearing the dead, and halted exactly at midnight in some hall where the feast was eaten and enjoyed. Thus the carnival was buried."

For three days before St. Johns Eve a condensed version of Carnival took place described by one observer as "the great drama of this light hearted people." Double inversions are described with persons dressed up as high born persons of the opposite sex. This seeming audacity was neutralized by setting the costuming in past times. "The

ladies represent the ancient chivalry mounted upon gaily caparisoned steeds, whilst the gentlemen wear the costumes of the ancient dames" (Bemrose 1966:10-11).

A characteristic feature of the St. Johns Eve festival was the feting of the horses which were garlanded and bedecked, a ritual common throughout Europe at that time, perhaps stemming from the customs of the old Celtic tribes. Hence the horses represent a fusion of sexual meanings-- strong and stalwart as a man but tamed and dressed in female finery.

St. Johns Eve, however, was the erotic holiday of the year in the European tradition, and thus known as the festival of the young girls (Bennassar 1979:40). The Posey Dances, also a part of the June event, were probably differently organized. We find that the altars in the homes are now to be found in the public streets, a little different in ornamentation and function. Bemrose (1966:11) describes these flower altars constructed by the Minorcan girls as "large wooden frames, forming a recess, beautifully and tastefully decorated with flowers and draperies. In the center of the recess is placed a representation of Our Savior, in silver. This is lit by a hundred tapers. The beauty of the 'tout ensemble' is more than fancy can paint." If a gentleman stopped to admire this work of art he was presented with a bunch of flowers from a "decorated pile."

If we look at the temporal sequence of these events and at the way in which they mesh with the yearly economic and social pattern we discern a progression from communal interaction to individual expression. Pre-Lent prepares the community for communal work during Lent, eventually culminating in the harvest between Easter and St. Johns Day. St. Johns day then initiates the summer days of leisure and individual activities, of minor harvests of fruit and vegetables, and of increased fishing and seafaring pursuits.

The Posey Altars of the pre-Lentan Carnival and St. Johns Eve projected a sacred image, but were infused with secular meanings as well. In form they merge the themes of bed (even deathbed), bower, arbor, and altar. A progression is evident from the posey exchange from queen to king within the secular habitation at the Posey Dance in the pre-Lenten Carnival, to the presentation of the bouquet from common woman to common man at the outdoor sacred altar at St. Johns Eve. Intermediate to this was the custom of the time of selling "poseys" to the men on Holy Saturday, which the men then used as part of the supplication in their ritual serenading that evening.

All of this floral presentation from female to male doubtless predates the Christian era as symbolic of the defloration ceremonies of the pagan solstice celebrations of ancient Europe. This meaning, as in the initial or core meaning of various rituals which have come down through the

screen of many generations, is only dimly apprehended as enacted by later peoples. That women were a central feature in the spring and early summer celebrations is common in the Hispanic world, while late summer and fall finds virility, honor, and ritual combats with man or beast as themes.

Another ritual, and the one which most captured the imagination of early tourists, remains to be described. The Fromajardis Serenade took place on the Saturday night before Easter. According to a scholar of the Minorcan dialect (Rasico 1987:296) formatjades is the proper designation for this serenade. However, the corrupted form, fromajardis, will be used in this text since it is the usage common in St. Augustine both historically and at present.

It is likely that the Serenade practiced in the eighteenth century in Minorca changed little in St. Augustine. However, in the Old World it was probably derived from an even older ceremony, that of the blessing of the houses on Easter Saturday by the priests. Chamberlin (1927:138) describes the way in which the sacristan preceding the priest engaged each householder's attention. He carried a water kettle into which alms would be thrown, or perhaps an egg into a basket which he also brought for the purpose. He then announced his superior with the words "Light up, for I am about to come." The householder then lit a candle and was "rewarded by the priest with the message 'Many good years.'"

As the Fromajardis Serenade was practiced in St. Augustine, groups of young men went about town, stopping at individual houses to sing the Fromajardis song which details the life of Christ with special emphasis on the mater doloroso theme. The song ends with a rap on the closed shutters of the house and the request for food. If acceded to, the serenaders are given little cakes or eggs and wine. The cakes are small cheese-filled pastries, said to be a metaphor for the infant Jesus protected in the Virgin's womb. A positive outcome to the young men's request leads to one ending of the song while a negative one calls for a loud declamation to the whole town of the stinginess of the inhabitants of the rejecting house (Bryant 1850:114-120).

Earlier in the day on Holy Saturday, the young men were engaged in shooting at straw effigies of the Jews which were hung in the plaza. The effigies were erected Friday night as part of the Good Friday ritual (Deland 1889:51-52).

The Fromajardis Serenade in the period between Christ's death and resurrection is both symbolic of maternal nurturance and of entombment. Thus nurturance is begged for at the house (representing the maternal enclosure), and may or may not be given, while flowers are bought (by the wages of sin?) and not freely given as they were in the Posey rituals.

The Fromajardis Serenade survived in almost its original form longer than any other of the original folk

events, so that the oldest living natives of the town still remember it. Also remembered as late as the end of the nineteenth century was the little drama practiced on Good Friday. Men went about dressed as St. Peter carrying large nets, attempting to catch the young boys whose delight it was to taunt and try to evade them.

The Carnival format and its elaborations in St. Augustine have been described in some detail in order to understand its disintegration under visitor and newcomer impact and thence to the dispersal and alteration of some of its themes in later festival constellations.

#### Early Tourism and its Impact on Public Ritual

In the years before the Civil War the Carnival components of the folk celebrations of St. Augustine were gradually abandoned. The reasons for this were complex.

Peter Weidkuhn (1976:32-53) has described Carnival as playing history in reverse, further elaborating that "it reverses structure not history and is locked in with non-lineal reality." In his analysis of the disintegration of Carnival in Basel, a community in Switzerland, he shows how the Industrial Revolution and the coming of Protestantism represented a changing historical focus which rejected the pagan and heathen elements in Carnival. The emphasis was on progress and improvement, not on the yearly ritual expression and symbolic resolution of strains within the

community by means of Carnival. Closely interacting local groups were being destroyed or differently integrated into regional and world market systems in the nineteenth century, and so it was in St. Augustine.

A tide of would-be settlers from the United States flowed into St. Augustine as soon as Florida became an American territory. Some of these who were Southern men, as already mentioned, married Minorcan girls, while others, of higher social station came as families from the northeastern United States. Later, with the hostilities of the Second Seminole War, the town served as Army headquarters. A third element, tourists, began to come in increasing numbers as the century wore on.

Most of the early tourists stayed for the winter and most were health seekers. Tuberculosis was rampant in that era, and St. Augustine gained a reputation as curative. In fact, graves proliferated. Winter visitors, or hibernants, were from the moneyed classes and few came alone, but were accompanied quite frequently by an entourage. Sometimes a family stayed on to settle in the town after the recovery or death of the invalid, or, in another pattern, established regular yearly residence, staying in the town for three months, and returning to the north again each year in early spring.

As noted, most winter visitors were from New York or New England, a quite different stream from the blend of

Minorcan/Southern-Anglo already present in the town. The town layout and town council governance were familiar to these Yankees, and the quaintness of St. Augustine added an exotic air. The populace, however, they found in woeful need of reform.

Each winter, when visitors equaled or exceeded the number of townspeople, saw efforts in that direction. While these proper northeasters were establishing schools, attempting to eliminate Carnival, and focusing on abolishing the dancing and drinking and other Sunday conviviality, the younger men of that same group were alleviating boredom by joining in the Carnival celebrations. Without any understanding of the religious and cultural grounding of the festival genre, they helped to amplify the riotous aspects and extended the season. Visitors claimed difficulty in sleeping because of the deafening noise.

As early in territorial days as 1825, concern was raised about the celebration. An "obituary" appeared in the February 22, 1825 East Florida Herald announcing the death of Don Augustin Folly who it was reported had since 1821 suffered from "a partial derangement of the intellect" occasioned by "ill treatment by some foreigners who often took liberties with him, as he claimed that his family privileges were not properly respected." In another article in the same paper E.B. Gould, the paper's editor, described the Carnival as properly practiced before the Americans came

to town and contrasted it with the pre-Lenten season just past when "the nightly excesses at this last Carnival became irksome and disgusting long before its close." At the end of the article the reason for the mock obituary becomes clear when he tells of a recent mock funeral procession conducted in the name of Carnival carrying a man on his bier to the public square. Mr. Gould clearly believed that the "mourned" was himself and considered the whole thing a retaliation for his newspaper attacks on Carnival.

Protestant clergymen discredited the goings-on as pagan and the work of the devil. Citizens were not without their concerns also, especially for their women. Prominent in descriptions of the town of that time was the beauty of the Minorcan women with their languorous brown eyes. More and more poseys were presented to young Anglo outsiders, and young Minorcan men found themselves vying with visitors or soldiers stationed in the town for the honor of Posey King. The courtship patterns of the two cultures were at variance, leading to misunderstandings.

Only once did group violence erupt as far as is known although individual incidents have been mentioned by observers, including William Cullen Bryant (1850:105). A guide book to St. Augustine was published by the Reverend Rufus King Sewell, a Presbyterian minister originally from Maine, who was avowedly anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic. Minorcan women were described as "distinguished for their

taste, neatness, and industry, a peculiar light olive shade of complexion, and a dark, full eye" (Sewell 1848:40). His description of the men, however, had them "less favored, both by nature and habit. They lack enterprise. Most of them are without education." This blast, coupled with an earlier statement that "the present race were of servile extraction," created a near riot and threats against the author, who left town. The book was eventually distributed with the offending page cut from it.

Of even more concern than suspect traffic with local women was the rumor that Negroes were disguising themselves during the carnival season and gaining access to white homes. In an anonymous newspaper article titled "Masqueradin" a long tirade against the abuses of Carnival ends with the following graphic description:

The amusement is open to all classes and colours. Indeed it is shrewdly suspected that one ball of the ladies and some of the gentlemen, who go about disguised, would need no mask to give them a black face. Last year a gentleman who was put indifferent to his enjoyment, had a very neat trick put upon him. He saw at a masquerading party a fine female form, whose easy and engaging manner attracted his attention. He was proceeding to whisper some tender declarations in her ear, when either from the exercise of the evening, or perhaps the emotions occasioned by the near approach of her admirer, the odoriferous effluvia which appertains to ladies of colour took wings and greeted his too delicate olfactories. He thought he smelt a rat. And her tucker having got a little deranged, on indiscreetly peeping behind, he unluckily discovered the sable hue of her neck.  
[East Florida Herald, January 31, 1826]

More than crossing the racial sexual barrier was eventually involved as the century wore on. Concern was raised that blacks in town were meeting to stage a rebellion and laws were passed imposing a 9:00 P.M. curfew on all blacks, slave or free, and requiring that permission be obtained for all assembly including "colored balls." Punishment for infractions was stiff, whippings in most instances (St. Augustine City Council records, 1824-1850, St. Augustine Historical Society Collection).

The 1850s, like the 1950s a century later, saw the end of an era and the beginning of another. With opposition from so many quarters, Carnival celebrations were disappearing at mid-century. An early historian (Fairbanks 1858:183) wrote that "the carnival amusements are still kept up to some extent, but with little of the taste and wit which formerly characterized them, and without which they degenerate into mere buffoonery." Unlike places where it survived, such as New Orleans (Edmonson 1956:233), it did not have the sustaining power of a local Catholic elite, and moreover the numbers and influence of the impinging Protestant-Anglos were too strong.

The disappearance of the folk customs associated with the Church calendar, particularly those of Carnival and St. Johns Eve may have met their strongest opposition from the Catholic Church itself. Matilda Taylor (1916) states flatly that "these customs were abolished by the Roman Catholic

bishop, Rt. Rev. Augustin Verot." We know that Verot, who came as the first bishop of Florida in 1858, found the Florida Church, after so many years of lay leadership, in a deplorable condition and set about making many reforms (Gannon 1967). He did such things as reminding the people that special exemption for Friday and Lenten abstinence granted by the Holy See during Spanish occupation no longer applied (Gannon 1964:28).

As for celebration of St. Johns Eve, it was on the list of religious festivals which the Church slated for dropping from the Church calendar in the New World because of their pagan roots (Foster 1960). Without the church's sanction, as well as criticisms from the Protestant sector that it was another Carnival, it gradually passed into memory in St. Augustine. The days of folk Catholicism were coming to an end.

#### The Flagler Era and the Ponce De Leon Celebration

Toward the end of the 19th century, Henry Flagler, who had become wealthy as a partner of John D. Rockefeller in the oil business, turned his attention to railroads and real estate development. He dramatically changed the face of St. Augustine with his attempt to turn the town into a "Winter Newport." Three large hotels were built, as well as many other buildings, and the community was connected to the outside world via Flagler's railroad. From 1885 to 1891 St.

Augustine was the place to spend the winter. Visitation quadrupled.

Discussing the St. Augustine years, one of Flagler's biographers (Chandler 1986:12) says that Flagler "started his work at a time when it was a primitive pesthole peopled with a shiftless population." Unfortunately, that "shiftless" population was eventually part of his undoing. The created boom town was grafted onto a weak infrastructure. When Flagler demanded better streets and services, townspeople objected. Why should they pay taxes to make life more pleasant for rich Yankees? The Town Council engaged in a series of stalling actions, and eventually Flagler, in disgust, moved south to develop Palm Beach (Graham 1978).

This era of elite tourism left its legacy. Several of the hotels were kept open for some years for the winter seasons. The Ponce de Leon Hotel did not close its doors until the 1950s, and while no longer attracting the very rich or renowned, still had a loyal, moneyed clientele. The railroad headquarters remained, and the managers became (or intermarried with) some of the town elite.

This outside entrepreneurial presence in St. Augustine has an interesting parallel in the development of Nice after 1860 as a winter haven for first the wealthy English and later the elite and royal from all over Europe. As described by Dennison Nash (1979:61-75), Nice was a folk

community which prior to development as an aristocratic tourist area had had a slow reactive, rather than proactive, tourism growth, mostly serving those seeking a health cure.

Large scale tourism there, as in St. Augustine, resulted in disequilibrium between town and tourist culture in the 19th century. This is typified by changes in the Nice Carnival. According to Haug (1982) Carnival was initiated from the outside in 1821 when the Sardinian court spent the winter there. Subsequently it was taken over by the local people. "The carnival remained an annual event after that," as Haug (1982:49) describes the process, "but it was little more than an opportunity for local rowdies to carouse and let off steam; by 1848 it had degenerated into an annual brawl in which a winter visitor participated at his own peril." The tradition of throwing flowers was supplanted by less desirable missiles such as beans, chick peas, flour, and balls of soot. With the increase of elite tourism in the late 19th century, Carnival was taken over by the elite visitors and became a gentile event with the "battle of the flowers" as its main feature. It was moved from the Old City to the New City, where visitors as well as local elite lived, and the battle consisted of a parade of flower bedecked carriages from which elegantly dressed ladies and gentlemen tossed bouquets of flowers to each other.

That the Nice era of elite tourism survived longer than that of St. Augustine can probably be attributed to several factors. First, in Nice, lower and lower local social groups were recruited into the tourist service trades and trained to cater to tourists. Second, a joint resident-hivernant elite culture evolved there and stabilized at an early time in touristic development of the area. The economic and social structure integrated into some balance. Nash attributes much of this to the satisfying diversions and events, including Carnival which there did not disappear but continues to this day as an interesting amusement.

Initially no such integral forces were at work in St. Augustine. Flagler and his management found the local work force wanting, nor was there willingness to develop and train local people to cater to elite sojourners. An attempt was made in the first season to use local people to staff the hotels, but was abandoned in favor of importees from the north. Even local blacks were bypassed as black bellboys were brought in from the north to work in the St. Augustine hotels. The same wage rate being paid to blacks and whites for the same services also ran counter to the local economic structure.

A curious local event which began as a "diversion" for winter visitors connected the local black community with the imported black staff. Each year a series of "cakewalks" was organized by the visiting blacks. They took place at the

Rink which was on the border between the local black residential area to the southwest and the grand hotels to the east. The large, old wooden building was the first true community hall in St. Augustine.

An 1892 account tells how "the bell boys, their friends and all the swell 'coled ladies in de city' gather there on these occasions. First they dance--and what a parody on our dances it is." Later the cake walk competition begins, and round and round the floor they marched, "the corners were turned with precision and ease." The judges (winter residents) had difficulty in choosing the couple who executed the steps with the most grace and precision, and who were then presented with a large cake. (The Tatler, March 1, 1891; January 30, 1892)

Eventually these events were held in the hotels instead of at the Rink because of the distaste of some of the winter visitors for the public hall. Black charity balls were also staged in the Casino of the Alcazar Hotel, sponsored by the winter visitors. Northern white visitors also took it upon themselves to start schools and other uplifting activities for the black populace.

With Union occupation of St. Augustine during the Civil War still a fresh memory, local people probably were no more pleased with these activities which had potential for upsetting the precarious racial balance than they were by the increased taxes occasioned by the influx. A speculation

might also be made that local black men resented the preempting of their more attractive women by the winter hotel employees, much as earlier the Minorcan men reacted to liaisons between their women and visitors.

As to the formation of a visitor-townspeople white elite group, an adjustment which smoothed things in Nice, matters were made difficult in St. Augustine by religious and regional divergences, and by the fact that this American "Riviera" was too short-lived for a top layer culture to emerge at that time.

Carnival had largely disappeared as the Flagler era began, and only a few of the Easter weekend activities remained. However, 1885, the year that Flagler came to St. Augustine to consider investing there, marked the beginning of the Ponce de Leon Celebration. One of Flagler's biographers (Martin 1949:106) believed that viewing the Celebration in March, 1885 helped Flagler to cement his decision. "The celebration was an elaborate one, put on especially for the winter visitors, and it impressed Flagler deeply. The name Ponce de Leon kept playing back and forth in his mind." He eventually named his plush hotel which opened in 1888 after Ponce de Leon. The Ponce de Leon Celebration was held sporadically during the ensuing years, eventually flowering into an annual celebration in the 1920s, and coming to an abrupt end at the onset of the Depression.

The first Ponce de Leon celebration, staged as a showpiece for visitors had economic consequences beyond anything imagined by the organizers. Its success set the format for festivals to come in the town. It also served to fill the festival void left when Carnival was discontinued, and, in fact, had some of the characteristics of a gentrified Carnival constrained by the narrative of historical pageantry.

In the last half of the eighteenth century Carnival was being modified or greatly changed as industrialization took place all over the world. In addition to the Nice Carnival another parallel example can be found in Caracas. Lavenda (1980:21) quotes a South American newspaper of 1872 as deplored the "barbaric custom" as a "repugnant contradiction to the culture of these peoples and to the morality and decency which ought to be the primary conditions of all public diversions." The following year a conscious transformation was effected and the festivities, still called Carnival, were changed to a structured, male oriented presentation of progress where the various classes, while participating, were kept distinct. A carefully planned parade was the central feature. "The principal symbols in the new Carnival were those of civilization, of cultivation, of centralization, of an emergent elite" (Lavenda 1980:21). Spontaneity was all but gone.

The Ponce de Leon Celebration in St. Augustine, although it was also a changing metaphor for social reality, probably did not carry over as many of the old Carnival features as in the Venezuelan case. However, it was organized by town businessmen and was strictly a male dominated event, and various social groups had well defined roles. In the 1907 Ponce de Leon Celebration souvenir program 207 males were listed as "prominent characters" and no females were listed at all. Nor were any women listed on the committees that year, even on the decoration and costume committees which are commonly female preserves. Meticulously orchestrated parades were one of the central features. Groups dressed as Indians, as in Carnival, played a significant part. The history portrayed was that of the romantic conquistadors, solidifying the St. Augustine founding myth in drama form. Convincing citizens of their town's renown was fully as important as display for outsiders. In spite of its splendid beginning the celebration did not fully develop, however, until thirty years after it began.

#### The Alcazar Era

The town entered a second elite period after the doldrums of the first few years of the century. This period in the 1920s, which I refer to as the "Alcazar Era," was a second blooming brought about partly by the momentum of the Flagler era and, partly by a prosperous national economy.

Some of the former elite remained loyal to the St. Augustine winter season and as time went on others were added, members it appears, of the emerging prosperous mercantile class in the country. These were not the rich-rich, but what Warner et al.(1960) referred to as the Lower Upper Class. These outsiders together with the emerging elite of the town combined to form an exciting winter season which reached its apex during the 1920s. At the beginning of that decade the heirs of Flagler's third wife, who had inherited Flagler's residence, Kirkside, moved to town, providing a locus for the evolving elite.

Every winter the Alcazar Hotel became the center of this social whirl, although certain events were held at the Ponce de Leon Hotel as well. Grand balls, soirees, auction bridge parties, operas, plays, minstrel shows, water shows (held in the Alcazar Hotel pool, the largest indoor pool in America at that time) were all a part of this scene. St. Augustine became a sporting center for autos, airplanes, and yachts. The Alcazar Hotel is symbolic of the stepdown elite complex which emerged. Reminiscing about the Alcazar, Clara Mier (oral history tape, 1964) thought it "more homelike than the Ponce," adding that "ordinary people could go there."

The elite lifeway had already come into existence in the town during Flagler days and the ornate, fanciful backdrop of the hotels provided a rare setting for so

provincial a town. A full half century before mid-America could model dress and manners after television shows such as *Dynasty* or *Dallas*, St. Augustinians could examine and emulate the latest national and world fashions and take part in the amusements of the wealthy.

The illusion of a magic world was augmented by the movie makers who headquartered in the town during "the decade of progress" as Dow (1983:226) has called it. Such stars as Theda Bara, popular in silent films, were a daily sight in the winter months.

Revival of the Ponce de Leon Celebration

It was natural that the town should put on its own show during this period of prosperity, so the growing local elite of the community decided to revive the Ponce de Leon Celebration. Much of the mythology of St. Augustine and Florida at this time was encapsulated in the festival. The narrative line was the discovery of Florida, at a site near St. Augustine, by Ponce de León. The first day of the festival was devoted to his veneration. A mock landing and mass were staged and the story of his search for the Fountain of Youth enacted. This image of a romantic and noble Spanish tradition was held dearly in the hearts of St. Augustinians and evoked an admiration for past glories in turn of the century visitors as well.

The second day of the celebration was dedicated to Menéndez, the founder of the town. Again a landing and a

mass were staged and historical playlets presented. These were of less splendor than the first day since Menéndez was less important in the St. Augustine pantheon.

The third day was devoted to the Sir Francis Drake attack (the Anglo intrusion), and to the change of flags from Spain to the United States. Ecstatic American patriotism had been in evidence even at earlier Ponce Celebrations. In the 1907 souvenir program it was concluded that "it is doubtful if either of the great spectacles of the preceding days affected the crowd or inspired their patriotism as did the scene depicting the transfer of the city to the United States."

Over the next several years a number of alterations in the celebration took place and the participants changed. At first, the lead roles were taken by Spanish-Minorcan descendants who traced their roots back into history, but eventually leads were taken by the elite of the town and even sometimes by outsiders. Another change was the inclusion of women in the lead roles. The early roles were those of the two founders, an assortment of grandees, cavaliers, and pages, and the Indians, also male. In the 1920s on the third day there were three floats each containing a bevy of women. They honored America, Florida, and Spain respectively and were suitably decorated. Also added to the festival were Indian women characters, particularly the princess who is supposed to have tempted

Menéndez. Whole Indian "tepee" villages were constructed to figure in the pageants presented.

The queen as festival royalty developed as a strong feature after World War I in historical events all over the United States. In St. Augustine early queens were of Minorcan descent, while later blue-eyed blondes predominated as blondes became the symbol of desirable womanhood nationwide. A news release published throughout the country spoke of a blonde from Seattle, Washington, who drove her own automobile to Florida to settle, and became the "Spanish queen" in St. Augustine.

Those who took the part of Indians in the dramas of the Ponce de Leon Celebration were divided into "foot Indians" and "mounted Indians", the former parts taken by men and youths from town and the latter by their rural counterparts mounted on horses. Those taking the part of Indians were frequently Minorcan. The distribution of the cast of Indians mirrored the developing town/rural duality in the first part of the twentieth century. Mock battles and Indian dances were staged as part of the pageant.

In the Ponce de Leon Celebration we can see a continuation of many Carnival elements. The costuming and masking are obvious. Confetti and decorated house facades, a part of the Ponce de Leon Celebration, had been a part of Carnival also. Likewise, the Indians presented in warlike and convivial frames are reminiscent of the earlier

festival. The grand balls of the Ponce Celebration embellished the fete as the Posey Dances had in Carnival. The floats full of girls, now transposed to represent political domains, were almost a direct revival of the "floats filled with gaily dressed girls" featured in the three days before Carnival. A film of the 1929 celebration shows the prominent place of horses in the staged outdoor drama. Even the three days of the newer festival was a carryover of the three days of jubilation at the end of Carnival and before St. Johns Eve, perhaps rooted in the Christian Trinity image.

Beneath the drama of the gentrified celebration was the enactment of conflicts while unity was proclaimed. The gradual Anglicizing of the celebration in terms of the participants, rather than content, reflected changes in the town, but unity was still the underlying theme.

#### Transition to Modernity

The Ponce de Leon celebration can rightly be called a "rite of modernization" in the sense used by Peacock (1968), as performance or drama enacting, and also enabling, the change from a limited community to that of a modern town. The emphasis as in all such rites was on lineal process--the historical sequence in this case--rather than on the seasonal celebratory round. The advance from discovery to

founding to change of flags was an apt metaphor for entry into an era of progress.

Optimism about the future became more relevant as time went on. From World War I, when the town enjoyed good tourist seasons because of decline in overseas travel, until the great depression of the thirties, St. Augustine experienced a spinoff of changes in the national economy and culture. An expanding technology and production and a burgeoning middle class brought increased mobility and altered patterns of leisure and consumption throughout the nation. Yet grounding in the old patterns was not lost. A tourist town where splendors of the past existed side by side with opportunities to enjoy the new recreational fashions lifted the town into a special kind of tourist destination.

The town itself began to reflect the changes in the wider culture. "Progress" was the catchword of the era and the Ponce celebration served as a rite bridging old glories to new themes. The spectacle of a good number in the town recreating the invasions and conflicts of past times while working out the problems and changes of their own times foreshadowed later St. Augustine festival modes and themes.

An article commemorating the 100th anniversary of the first Ponce de Leon celebration begins with the sentence, "Easter Week Festival, Days in Spain and the Menéndez Landing commemoration rolled into one, that was the

spectacular Ponce de Leon Celebration" (St. Augustine Record 10/26/1985,). I would reverse this sequence and see the Ponce celebration as the progenitor of present day public rituals just as the early Carnival forms were parent to features of the Ponce de Leon Celebration. In this stream the religious motif has never been entirely absent, but the general drift has been from the strong religious grounding of the Minorcan-Spanish celebrations to the secularization in the Ponce celebration.

St. Augustine was hit heavily by the Great Depression, and the number of visitors declined. After World War II tourism gradually increased again, and a summer season was added, mostly, at first, two-week vacationers from other parts of the Southeast. Festival events began to emerge, almost on a random experimental basis, sometimes in summer or early fall, other times in the traditional early spring. In the 1940s A Day in Spain was initiated, a kind of Spanish fair, combining Carnival and some of the Spanish elements of the Ponce de Leon Celebration. This event, precursor to the modern Days in Spain, will be treated in Chapter V.

In 1953 an attempt was made to revive a city-wide festival for one day, which was to celebrate the founding of Florida. March 27, 1953, was declared to be Pascua Florida Day, to be held as a "gala day" at the end of the winter season. Nearby communities took part. Scheduled were a mock landing, a band concert, a reconstructed Indian

village, ending with a ball for the Spanish queen at the Alcazar Hotel. The second night, a winter carnival of decorated shrimp boats was staged. Pascua Florida Day was not repeated although it was perhaps the precursor of the St. Augustine Easter Festival which began in the late 1950s.

The Royal Family: A Revitalization Movement

Anthony F. C. Wallace (1956:265) in his seminal article defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Attempts are made to reinstitute customs, values, and forms thought to have been in the mazeway [culturally prescribed life pathway] of previous generations but not now present. Much earlier Mooney (1896) had explained the sudden emergence of the ghost dances of the American plains Indians as an attempt to revive a "paradise lost," a glorious time before they were subjugated by the white man. Examining virtually the same cultural process, which he calls "nativistic" movements, Linton (1943:230-231) notes that attempts were made to revive only selected aspects of culture, never the culture as a whole.

Sometimes such phenomena are called millenary movements. The "cargo cults" in the South Pacific are of this type. Burns (1978) applied this model to a railroad town in the southwestern United States to describe the cult, centering around a movie star, which rose in response to

dramatic changes in that community. Attempts to "contain and utilize" the unpredictable forces impinging on the town led to the initiation of a large scale festival each year. (Burns 1978:169).

The St. Augustine Royal Family was, and is, a revitalization of Minorcan-Spanish culture, an attempt by the women of a group which had traditionally experienced some discrimination in the community, to bring to the forefront and celebrate noble Spanish ancestry. We will remember that on first entry into the town in the 18th century the Minorcans were a refugee group and as such were consigned to a section of town called the Minorcan Quarter. Minorcan was a pejorative designation, and although some of the group rose to prominence in later years, when asked, most would say that they were from an "Old St. Augustine Family," or sometimes that they were of Spanish descent.

After World War II, and at the point that out-marriage was becoming more common, strains within the class and racial structure were surfacing in St. Augustine. The economy slowly picked up after the war and some of the Minorcan women took jobs as guides and in other service sectors, but the avenues of economic improvement were blocked by the group's position in the town. At an even lower rung of the ladder, with jobs scarce, there was competition from the black group. The time was ripe for balance shifts in the class structure.

As is usually the case in movements of this kind (Wallace 1956:270), a single leader spearheaded the Minorcan revitalization. As early as 1949 Eleanor Philips Barnes, a local woman with Minorcan ancestors, was compiling historical and genealogical material on her family and other families. She early emphasized pride in Minorcan ancestry, insisting that they came from excellent stock--mostly Roman and Latin and descended from the "famous Carthaginians." She called the story of the Minorcans a "forgotten legend." In the 1950s she began to write pageants and tableaux about "heritage families," as she called them.

The acceleration of the movement came about by the fortuitous request of Mrs. Barnes, by the wife of a former mayor, that she find a girl of Spanish descent to ride in the first Easter Festival parade as queen. Mrs. Barnes was determined that this not be just another "pretty cotton or watermelon queen," as she put it (Florida Times Union, April 2, 1981). She invented what is called the St. Augustine Royal Family." She chose as a model the Spanish royal family as they were in 1672 when construction of the Castillo de San Marcos began in St. Augustine. The Family included Queen Marianna, her daughter Princess Margarita Maria, and the boy King Carlos. In subsequent years a royal trio was chosen annually from among the "heritage natives" as they came to be called. The family was accompanied by an "entourage," some of whom were descendants of other

nationalities "come to honor the family" as it is often expressed, and take part in the festivities. Mrs. Barnes herself took the role of the Duchess of Alba since the most powerful man in the Spanish court in the late seventeenth century was the Duke of Alba.

Mrs. Barnes was as strict as a ballet teacher as she molded the royalty and entourage. She used to admonish, "try to remember you are a queen. You must be condescending but charming." The royal activities were compared to "making a debut." As a leader she thought of herself as a "red-blooded American" learning and teaching about "blue blood" ways. Hold your head up and be proud of your ancestors was the gist of her training (Florida Times Union April 2, 1981).

The emphasis was less on being Minorcan, particularly at first, than on tracing the ancestry back into antiquity in Spain. This was possible because several Spanish families left from the first Spanish Period (pre-1763) intermarried with the Minorcan group. To those who chided that she could, with proper incentive, trace almost anyone back to Ferdinand and Isabella, she answered that she was not trying to make the natives royal, that it was all "play acting," but that it would give "heritage natives" a sense of their history. She bristled when told that handsomer individuals should be chosen for royal family roles,

maintaining that blood lineage, not looks, was the point  
(The Tampa Times April 16, 1960).

In recent years as preservationists have played a part in the town, some of this group have been quick to point out that that particular Spanish royal family was a poor model. I have frequently heard the sly remark that the historic King Carlos portrayed was actually mentally retarded. That particular Spanish queen is not favorably remembered in Spanish history either, as her machinations partly led to the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy. The dress of the St. Augustine Royal Family has also come in for ridicule because of its elaborate sixteenth century Elizabethan cast, rather than being in line with the late seventeenth century Spanish tradition of the original model. More recently, probably in response to this criticism, there has been a drift toward more authentic costuming.

The leader with the original vision was Mrs. Barnes, but as time went on she gradually delegated responsibilities to others. Max Weber (1947) points out that as charisma becomes routine then power must be distributed to other personnel for the innovation to be a continuing success. By the end of ten years, other heritage natives played key roles, particularly the group of past queens which has become an association of closely interacting women. The reins of the organization were turned over to another

heritage native and his wife. This couple has played a central role ever since.

The movement has had an impact on its participants in a number of ways. "Minorcan" is no longer the denigration that it once was. Not all of this shift in the fortunes of the Minorcans was the result of the Royal Family, however. The times were ripe for such consciousness raising. In a quite different way a local retired banker, X. L. Pellicer, has credentialed the Minorcans to themselves and to the town through making contacts in Minorca and joining forces with a wealthy Minorcan industrialist to place on the Cathedral grounds a bronze statue of Father Camps (who accompanied the Minorcan colony to the New World) and some of his flock. The family names of the Minorcan colonists are inscribed on the statue's base.

The Royal Family has had good regional and national exposure, particularly when the movement first began. Travel to take part in celebrations elsewhere and to represent the Ancient City is paid for by the participants, a sacrifice of time and money which they willingly make for the good of the community. This assumption of financial responsibility by each year's trio can be compared with the obligations (cargoes) of festival leaders in South America who sometimes expend all of their resources on the responsibility they assume for putting on a yearly fiesta (Smith 1975).

What has been the influence on the women taking part? This is, as implied, primarily a woman led and woman run movement, although several males play significant roles. Even the boy king, although playing a central role, seems in a way a prop--the symbol, as it were, of the pre-adolescent male in the domestic circle.

The movement has served as a very effective training ground for upward mobility for the women who take part. The discipline, the training, and the exposure of public appearances all lay the groundwork for improved community functioning. When the Royal Family was started, in the 1950s, only forty percent of the population of St. Augustine could claim high school graduation. Today, former queens and princesses can be found all over the community in good positions and jobs, mostly of the lower, but sometimes middle management level. It is clear that this "schooling" was a function if not a purpose of taking part in the Royal Family.

From observation of about fifty events in which the Royal Family has taken part (including three in nearby communities) it is obvious that tourists and outsiders find "The Family" to be an interesting aspect of festival life in St. Augustine. The admiration which they have received when making public appearances has elevated the whole subgroup in St. Augustine, even though those taking part represent only a few families. This suggests that "Minorcan" is less and

less a minority status designation, partly due to this movement as well as to increasing economic opportunities in a rapidly developing town.

In the festival realm, the Royal Family is the last in the evolutionary string of royal and noble status symbols in the town. First were the common men masquerading as the grand dames and the common women playing knights of rank in the Carnival, as well as the kings and queens of the posey dances. Next, in the Ponce de Leon Celebration, is the wholly accentuated masculine royalty, with the eventual addition of a queen and Indian princess as adjuncts. Finally, female royalty comes to the fore even more in the Royal Family, with the boy king as an added element. The evolution here demonstrates a progression from the "Women's Festival" of the Carnival, to the man-central festival position in the two elite eras, and back to the prominent role of women in the present Easter Festival.

#### Easter Festival Beginnings

Florida was named for Easter, although the Pascua Florida designation given by Ponce de Leon is usually translated as "Land of Flowers." For nearly a hundred years, from 1858 to 1953, Easter was celebrated as a family and church holiday in St. Augustine, devoid of the previous public festivities. The holiday again went public in 1953 when an Easter parade was initiated by a local photographer's wife who arranged for the carriage business

to furnish carriages for a parade around the plaza after church. The carriages were decorated and the horses adorned with hats. Thus was born the "Parada de los Caballos y Coches," the name by which the parade is still known. From this beginning the Easter Festival grew rapidly until at present it spreads over three or four weeks, with the apex occurring from Palm Sunday weekend through Easter.

This pathway to a well developed major celebration was not smooth, however. The first major obstacle was the civil rights disturbances in 1964 and 1965 at the time of the 400th anniversary of the founding of St. Augustine.

The Easter celebration of 1965 was to be the climax of the Quadricentennial year, and the plans were impressive. This was to have been the time when St. Augustine at last would be recognized as the Oldest City in the nation, refuting, its boosters believed, the claims of Jamestown, Plymouth, and Santa Fe. It was expected that people would come from all over the country, and national figures and foreign dignitaries were invited. There were both national and state commissions established and federal funding was expected. President John F. Kennedy in an address given in Miami in March, 1962 expressed his intention to attend the 1965 festivities. It was arranged that Lyndon B. Johnson, the Vice-President, was to attend the 1963 Easter Festival to prepare the way for federal involvement.

Local blacks, led by a black dentist, several ministers, and a few militants from Florida Memorial College, notified the NAACP that not a single representative from the black community was scheduled to be in the reviewing stand for the Easter parade when the Vice-President visited or at the formal dinner. Thus was set in motion a chain of events leading to the choice of the town as an apt vehicle for demonstrating the extent of repression and segregation in the South. Negative media coverage began. "The Oldest City, the most segregated in the nation" became the battle cry. Before it was over, "outside agitators" for both sides invaded the town, and the community became the backdrop against which national issues were played out (Colburn 1985; Hartley 1972).

What of the impact on the Easter Festival? By the early 1960s St. Augustine was receiving its share of families whose children were on spring break from school and of vacationing college students. A curious flyer appeared on several northern campuses in 1964 inviting students to experience a different kind of spring break by demonstrating for civil rights in the nation's oldest city. White adults came to demonstrate for desegregation also. Mrs. Malcolm E. Peabody, mother of the then-governor of Massachusetts, arrived in St. Augustine to champion integration in the town. Subsequently, Mrs. Peabody was arrested and put in jail when she along with the wife of a Black Episcopal

Bishop attempted to attend services at Trinity Episcopal Church during Easter week. Her activities in the town were a particular affront to the descendants of Yankees from the northeast who, in the process of several generations, had made an adaptation to the Southern caste system.

Although the 1964 festival continued, tourist visitation was low and student marchers walked along the Easter parade route in tandem with the parade. A short time later, in May, Martin Luther King arrived and "the long hot summer" began.

Townspeople expected the demonstrations in the Quadricentennial year to be even worse than in 1964. However, with the passage of the Civil Rights Law of 1964, the issue was moved from the streets of the nation to the legal and administrative sphere, and aside from a few confrontations, matters in the nation's oldest city were not as bad as anticipated.

Nevertheless, the Quadricentennial suffered, attracting less visitors than expected. Federal funds were never forthcoming, and national and foreign dignitaries failed to arrive in any great numbers. Although the Quadricentennial Easter Festival was reported on with some spirit in the local paper, observers of the time have indicated to me that the events were not the festive kind originally planned.

Most analysts believe that the town was set back economically by some ten years. Businesses closed, land

values plummeted, and the town did not begin to recuperate from its role as a battleground until the end of the decade.

The disturbances also led to some shifts in social structure. Although some surface gains had been made by the black community, the pullout of the SCLC left them vulnerable. Florida Memorial College chose to relocate in Miami, causing St. Augustine's black middle class to diminish. Other blacks left to escape the repression which they felt in the town. The white community solidified along very conservative lines, while many of the moderates were discredited or moved away. In subsequent years those with liberal viewpoints were labeled as Communists, and this attitude still persists in some quarters today.

The Easter Festival reflected the doldrums of the town until the end of the decade. By the mid-1970s, however, at the time of the U. S. Bicentennial, things had picked up, and the Easter Festival assumed central position in a burgeoning festival complex.

#### Concluding Remarks

This chapter has traced public ceremonial life from its baseline in the folk community, through the beginnings of tourism in the town, and the subsequent elite tourism of Victorian times, to the Alcazar Era of the 1920s boom when the first large scale modern celebration began, and thence finally to the era of mass tourism. We have seen the

effects of tourists on festivals, from the destructive actions in Carnival distorting its original meaning, to the elevating of a local ethnic group in the Easter Festival. Throughout, the town's integrity has been maintained and the tourists' attention held by exciting, sometimes grandiose, dramas.

From this brief historical review we will, in future chapters, see how modern tourist festivals are a mosaic of nearly forgotten traditions, distortions of old forms grafted on new ones, bits and pieces of customs and myths formulated into new constellations against the backdrop of postindustrial life in a modern town. Threading through celebratory life in the town is an elite image grafted on a folk base.

CHAPTER IV  
THE EASTER FESTIVAL

. . . you provide the glamour, the elegance and the dignity so necessary to get this across. . . . Don't be impatient with the outsiders who resent your elegance and impressiveness. They simply do not understand because they do not belong. For one of those there are hundreds of others who are almost convinced you are royal.

Letter to the Festival Royal Family  
Eleanor Philips Barnes, 1964

The Tourist as Discoverer

A tourist was pulled from the audience at the 1983 Court of Flags presentation, the event which in recent years initiates the Easter Festival cycle. He was knighted and honored by the Easter Festival, Inc. "Like Ponce de Leon and the explorers of old, each tourist discovers again the Ancient City," the audience was told. In this small incident in the twenty-fifth year of the Easter Festival "The Tourist" is both individualized and at the same time symbolized, even partly deified, as the prototype of the explorer-conqueror, thus establishing the position of the tourist in the long line of strangers who have discovered, found, or founded the town.

This particular year, 1983, marked the beginning of what appears to be a slow decline in the festival, or, at the least, a transformation from a local festival cycle to a tourist show, put on grudgingly, sometimes without

enthusiasm, for commercial purposes. In this chapter I will trace the life course of this ceremonial cycle, for it is clear that festivals are born, wax into vigorous maturity, and eventually decline as does all human existence. The largest, most impressive ceremonial segment of the year is changing, and perhaps will eventually be considerably altered by the dramatic readjustments taking part in the community.

A composite view of the cycle drawing mainly from the years 1979-1983 will show the festival in its heyday. This look at the cycle in its maturity is not meant to freeze it in time but rather to provide a baseline to look at St. Augustine as represented through its ritual. We will examine the internal workings of the cycle, its symbolism and function, its personnel, special forms, vested interests, trappings, and above all its relationship to community social structure.

#### The Easter Festival: Tradition and Change

Celebrations in this town with an Hispanic tradition were once, as described in Chapter III, concentrated in the spring and early summer (taking Carnival as the beginning of the series and St. Johns Eve as the end point). Early tourism coincided nicely with this cycle. As Sidney Lanier (1875:4) so aptly put it, "People do not yawn in St. Augustine in February." Once the folk Easter celebrations were partially submerged, the Ponce de Leon Celebration took

their place as the large public celebration of the community. A progression from sacred to secular and from indigenous to elite paralleled the changes in the town.

As elite tourism slowly declined, summer, rather than winter and early spring, became the principal tourist season. Spring festivities occupied a lesser position for the first time in the history of the town. This twenty-five year lull was broken consciously according to Philip Genovar who was for many years the Easter Festival Chairman. He remembered, "In 1957, the community leaders of the then 392-year-old city decreed something be done about beefing up tourism during the slack season between Christmas and Summer. City fathers and merchants organized an Easter Festival as a way of attracting visitors to St. Augustine in the springtime" (St. Augustine Record April 4, 1986).

This conscious action nicely coincided with changes taking place in the celebration of Christmas and Easter in the United States. Before World War II, Easter was almost equal in importance to Christmas in the yearly celebration cycle. Then something happened to Easter. It became a holiday, not a holy day. The celebration of death signified by Easter was not congenial with the vitality and optimism of the post-war period. Along with this came a emphasis on nuclear families and a child-oriented culture. These factors pushed Christmas, which celebrates the holy nuclear family, into the most important celebration of the year in

the United States. Less arcane reasons can be found for the decline of Easter celebrations in what became an increasingly secular culture. The mass mobility of the culture triggered by World War II led to the new tradition of spring vacations. This trend was started by college students taking their spring break, but later widened to the larger culture. Sunbelt areas of the country became the destinations.

St. Augustine is in a particularly fortunate position. It offers a very colorful Easter festival, with some of the traditional trappings, and at the same time a "fun in the sun" vacation, the best of both worlds. The tourists, Catholic and Protestant alike, love it. The essence of outsider enchantment with St. Augustine's Easter Festival is distilled in a remark overheard at the Grand Illumination ceremony in December. A woman judged to be a relatively new community resident was heard exclaiming to a visitor who was enthusiastic about the Illumination, "Oh, this is nothing! You should come back at Easter, go to everything, especially the Blessing of the Fleet."

After mid-summer, spring now ranks as the highest visitation time for the Oldest City. Figure 7 shows the monthly distribution of visitors, using the figures for Castillo de San Marcos, which are generally accepted as reflective of town tourism. By 1936, the first year that these figures were kept, summer visitation was beginning to

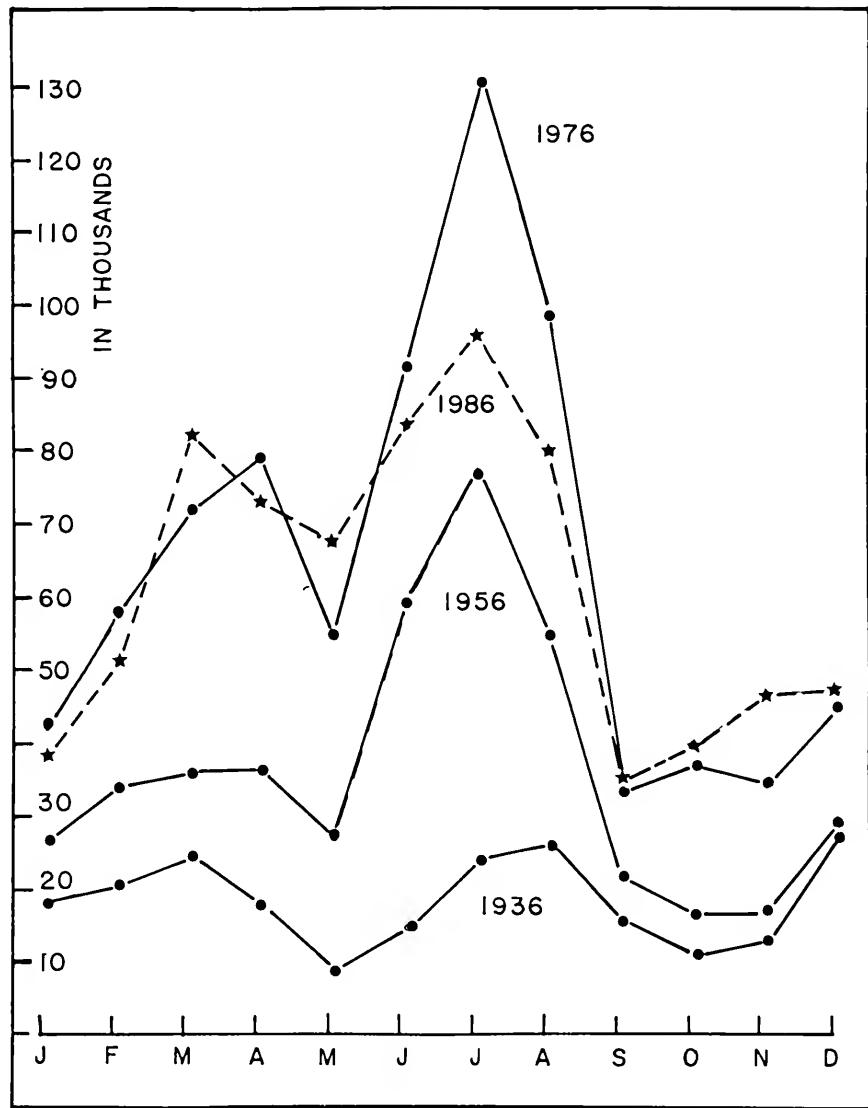


Figure 7. Visitors per Month, Castillo de San Marcos.

equal that of late winter and early spring. Twenty years later, in 1956, summer had assumed the dominant position and winter tourism had flattened markedly in comparison. The March through April Easter season had come into some prominence once again by 1976. The high number of summer visitors that year, still the peak year for St. Augustine tourism, can be attributed in part to the national Bicentennial celebration which markedly increased tourism at historic sites all over the United States. By 1986 a bimodal curve is in evidence which shows a tendency to merge into a single curve from March through mid-August.

While not evident in the monthly distribution, the two biggest tourist weeks, in terms of number of visitors to St. Augustine, are the week between Christmas and New Years and the week between Palm Sunday and Easter. The New Years Gator Bowl game accounts for part of the former and the Easter Festival accounts for part of the latter. However, both are enhanced by regional tourism, which, as Florida increases in population, accounts for a significant part of tourism in the Ancient City.

#### The Festival Cycle and its Spatial Distribution

The Easter Festival has varied from a three day event at its beginning to a three and a half week event in its twenty-fifth anniversary year. One event, the annual Transfer of Office, however, takes place about five or six weeks before the cycle begins. The Transfer ceremony is for

the purpose of inducting the new Royal Family. The temporal position of the event has a haunting familiarity since it comes in the calendar location of the old pre-Lenten festivities. Extending the analogy further, the king and queen choosing of the Posey dances at Carnival time are an interesting parallel to, if not precursor, of the modern Transfer of Office event.

Looking at the sequence of the festival (see figure 8) a gradual buildup in intensity leads to the two peak days-- Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday. The Blessing of the Fleet and the Easter Parade on these two Sundays draw crowds of some magnitude. I estimate as high as 80,000 spectators attending the Easter Parade in peak years. This is a conservative estimate; the newspaper has estimated 100,000 for the Easter Parade on several occasions. All other events in the Festival constellation, although they are extensively covered in the media, attract no more than several hundred at the most, and often a mere handful. Sometimes this is the result of a space limitation. For example, people frequently have to be turned away from the Passion Play held at the fort because the courtyard can accommodate no more than 400 people at a time. However, this event is held nightly over a period of days.

Events taking place on the Palm Sunday and Easter weekends are presented in the middle of town while minor events at other times are characteristically in peripheral

## FESTIVAL EVENTS

Approx. 40 days before Easter:

### ANNUAL TRANSFER OF OFFICE

S

### ROYAL COURT/COURT OF FLAGS

S

M

T

W

T

F

S

S Palm Sunday

### BLESSING of the FLEET

Arts + Crafts Show  
 Seafood Festival  
 Fish Dinner

M

T

W

T

F

Good Friday

S

S

Easter Sunday

### EASTER PARADE

Promenade

M

### MINORCAN DAY

T

Easter Egg Hunt

W

T

### FROMAJARDIS SERENADE

F

S

S Low Sunday

### PILGRIMAGE, La LECHE SHRINE

Passion Play ]

Passion Play ]

Figure 8. Easter Festival Sequence

areas. An exception is the Minorcan Day celebration which takes place in the confines of the tourist preserve, the former Minorcan Quarter. The changes in staging arena through time for this small event are instructive. Through the years it has progressed from the Cathedral courtyard to the Casa de Hidalgo (the Spanish Tourist Bureau office) to, in the last two years, the Greek Shrine. This follows the content which has moved from the religious and ancestral to emphasis on Hispanic ethnic glorification and finally to some recognition of the multinational aspect of the original Minorcan colony.

#### Festival Social Organization

The St. Augustine Easter Festival, Inc. is not a temporary organization, but, is a year-round social grouping with its own internal hierarchy and rules. It is now an incorporated entity with the main purpose of putting on the largest tourist-oriented festival of the year. However, representation of the city through Royal Family appearances regionally, statewide, and even nationally throughout the year is considered part of the charge.

A 1964 unpublished description (Festival collection, St. Augustine Historical Society) advises that "although achieving a status of a separate unit, [The Royal Family] is still sponsored by the St. Augustine Easter Week Festival, Inc. It is non-commercial, and the outgrowth of a large civic effort." The Royal Family is still today in the same

anomalous position. It has its own director and is not strictly subsidiary to the Easter Festival, but rather operates in tandem with the umbrella organization, with interlocking personnel. Furthermore, it is charged with carrying forth the work and organizational maintenance during non-Easter times. The Royal Trio, it is believed by its adherents, provides the controlling image of the festival life of the town. The only large scale public events in which the Trio does not take part are those planned entirely by the Coquina Ethic constituency.

Who and what make up the St. Augustine Easter Festival group? It is at core Minorcan. Non-Minorcans who have attached themselves to this core are nearly all Catholic. If we divide the Minorcan descendants in the modern community into three groups--elite, middle and lower--then it is the mid socio-economic level which is involved in the Royal Family and entourage. However, not all of the mid-level can be found taking part, and the reasons for that are historical.

In 1959 nearly all members of the Royal Family claimed descent from the Solana family, the first family to appear in the sixteenth century Cathedral Parish Records. As time went on, the participation was expanded to other, but not all, Minorcan families. Further expansion to non-heritage native Catholics, presumably part of the same social group although not of the same descent, took place at an early

time in the history of the festival. These outsiders can be found in the Royal Entourage and in planning and directing roles in the various easter Festival events.

What I am trying to say here is that this is a grass roots organization, and the festival has had a local, distinctly St. Augustine flavor. It follows through the series of (1) folk sacred (old Easter celebrations), (2) elite secular (Ponce de Leon Celebration) (3)middle-class secular-sacred (modern Easter Festival). The modern celebration, then, is the swing of the pendulum to a mid-position along the sacred-secular arc as well as in class position.

The present festival principals like to think of the Ponce de Leon Celebration as the main progenitor of the Easter Festival. As examples, the long-time Easter Festival Director was a page in the Ponce celebration as a child, and the 1924 Ponce de Leon queen, although neither Catholic nor Minorcan, maintained a patroness role to the Easter Festival for many years and at her death willed her royal wardrobe to the organization. In dress and demeanor their borrowing from the elite Flagler and Alcazar Eras of the past is obvious.

Although the Royal Trio is changed each year, the directors of the various subunits have characteristically held their posts for a number of years, and in several instances their positions as such constitute their main

niches in the life of the town. Citizens asked about them often mentioned these roles first and occupational position second, if indeed at all. It appears to be an instance of esteem unrelated to economic role in the community, a continuation of folk values, or at least of local criteria for community service.

The Easter Festival as a Woman's Festival

Hatch (1979) in his community study of a California town speaks of the sex shift in the conduct of public community events; a shift from the 1920s and 1930s when civic leaders, all men, were leaders in community affairs, to the time after World War II when women began to plan and organize community drives and celebrations. He attributes this to the changing role of the American community from an island unto itself whose ideological frame included non-economic aspects such as civic pride, "boosterism" he calls it, to an economic cog in a large machine when men were no longer judged by local criteria, and local leadership failed to confer the honor that it once had.

St. Augustine has seen some of that same shift although until very recent times it maintained more of that civic pride than most small towns. This is doubtless an artifact of the fascination which the town holds for many tourists and, less easy to substantiate, some remaining pueblo loyalty, a carryover from the Hispanic heritage. Nevertheless, a decided shift has taken place in the

planning and execution of festivals. The Ponce de Leon celebration, although it engaged extensive community participation, was planned and run by men of prominence in the town. Key roles were balanced between well-known males from the two part system in the town--the Hispanic-Catholics and the Anglo-Protestants. The main entry for women was through the status conferred by personal beauty or relationship to one of the male principals. As an aside, many more men of the older generation spoke to me with nostalgia and fondness for the old celebration than did the women. The extensive role of women in the modern Easter celebration will become obvious as the form and content are examined in the following material.

The Easter Festival began in a small way with a parade around the plaza after church on Easter Sunday. The wife of the local photographer, who took pictures of tourists seated in the carriages, arranged with some of her friends to ride around in the carriages after the religious services in a sort of horse-drawn Easter parade. The carriages were decorated with crepe paper and flowers, and the horses were decked out with fancy trappings including frilly hats. These early innovators were relative newcomers to town, somewhat below the elite group in status, and not, of course, Minorcan.

The following year, as described earlier, someone had the idea of Spanish royalty riding in one of the carriages,

and Mrs. Barnes was asked to decide on how this should be done. As the idea caught on, other features were added, the celebration was extended to three days, and Eleanor Barnes remained to direct the Royal Family as well as to produce the historical pageant. Since the quadricentennial celebration of the town's founding was only several years away, it was decided that the Easter Festival would be the main feature. With important plans afoot involving the state, the nation, even the World, men moved into leadership roles.

Nevertheless, the original feminine character of the Easter Festival was not lost, nor did women totally abdicate their positions of prominence. Many of the male principals were from families in which the women were heavily involved, and frequently a large burden of the actual planning and work fell on distaff shoulders.

As the number of past queens increased, that group moved to a central planning position in the festival committee. The former queens as they made the transition from their queenly role tended to self select themselves for a certain niche in the organization. One who has facetiously referred to herself as the "royal loudmouth" is the announcer at many of the smaller events. Another former queen, Sally Walton, the owner of a dance studio, furnishes entertainment at all of the smaller sit-down events, her pupils heavily weighted toward those of old St. Augustine

families. She also is "keeper of the hats," those worn by the horses in the Easter parade. The royal seamstress is also a past queen. Certain former queens have staked out various events as their territories, usually assuming responsibility year after year. Control is maintained by the former queens because it is this group which acts as the selection committee for Royal Trio each year.

The training of these women in the proper festival genre is marked by a clear route--from young dancer, to attendant to the princess, to princess, to attendant to the queen, to queen, and finally to former-queen status. Sometimes this orderly progression is short circuited or capped off because of internal politics or other factors such as a move out of town. The progression from page, to attendant to the prince, to prince leads to no lifetime credential, but rather the boys taking this role drop out at the end of their reign, some thoroughly bored or even embarrassed by the role as they enter adolescence. Each year separate floats for former princesses and former queens are part of the Easter parade. Former princes are conspicuous by their absence.

But leadership alone does not tell all of the story. Excluding the Blessing of the Fleet, the masculine cast of which we will soon examine, fewer masculine trappings are to be found in the Easter Festival than in any of the other major town celebrations; no mock boat invasions, no gun

firings or other military displays, no symbolic fort burnings. The festival is the benign half of the cross and sword symbolism.

A cover of the Easter Festival program in use for several years, shown in Figure 9, clarifies the meaning. The Royal Trio is superimposed on the cross on the top half of the cover. The position of the boy king in the center of the cross with mother to the left and sister to the right projects a subliminal meaning. The image is of Christ flanked by older and younger versions of the Virgin Mary. The two feminine members of the trio even carry different versions of the Virgin's name. Infused in the image, also, is the intact home grouping before the adolescent boy goes out into the world. This kin grouping is the common Hispanic family model:

Preadolescent, working class boys spend most of their time in this female sphere, a space which their fathers and older brothers scrupulously avoid as feminine. . . . young sons are therefore effectively separated from adult male kinsmen and are surrounded from birth by often dominant mothers, older sisters, and grandmothers. [Gilmore 1987:145]

The lower part of the program carries forward the feminine theme with pictures of the past queens float in the Easter Parade and of one of the horses sporting an Easter bonnet.

For the twenty-fifth anniversary year, also depicted in Figure 9, the program was changed somewhat. A Maltese cross



**Highlights of this City's  
Bicentennial Easter Sunday  
"Parada de los Caballos y Coches"**

*Your Invitation to....*

**HISTORIC ST. AUGUSTINE'S  
Twenty-Fifth Anniversary**



**Highlights of this City's Annual Easter Sunday  
"Parada de los Caballos y Coches"**

Figure 9. Easter Festival Programs

with a crown above it has a furl near the lower half of the cross with St. Augustine, Florida written on it. The Royal Trio is placed below, rather than superimposed on the cross as before. At the bottom are pictures of the float of former princesses and the parade marshal.

#### The Parade Marshal and the Horses

Something of the St. Augustine Easter Festival's meaning can be understood by examining the role of the parade marshal. Miss M. K. Murphey has for many years been the marshal of the Easter parade. As an individual she is single woman, a non-Mediterranean in heritage, and was, before her retirement, the secretary to a local bank president. Her occupational status in times past was the highest in business to which a woman could aspire in the town. Moreover, she is an accomplished horsewoman and once rode a horse in the Ponce de Leon Celebration. Her air of royal command and the equestrian skill which she brings to the event are reminiscent of the 19th century description of the ladies at Carnival time representing the "ancient chivalry, mounted upon handsomely caparisoned steeds" (Bemrose 1966:11).

She is dressed in elaborate masculine attire, which, with the gold trappings and plume on the horse, provides an impressive moving tableau. The image has become more striking each year. Once the horse was embellished with a feminine hat such as the other horses wear in the parade.

This was changed to a grand plume in the twenty-fifth anniversary year. Miss Murphy has had different mounts through the years, training each one to withstand the noise and confusion of the parade. One of her earlier horses was descended from two participants in the first Rose Bowl Parade, the premier parade in the United States. Miss Murphy's present horse, Rafael, is aptly named because the saint of that name was a compassionate man, gentle and healing, but daring and crusading, a fusion of masculine and feminine features.

#### Parade and Processions

Because of the prominence of processions and parades in St. Augustine celebrations, we need to distinguish between them. A processions is a lineal walk by relevant participants which has a supplicative and venerative interest or object; while a parade is a line of personnel or units with the intent of show, even an attempt sometimes to intimidate the onlookers. The roots of processions, the earlier form, are religious; of parades, military. A procession invites general participation while a parade separates participants and onlookers, although interaction often occurs. Both stem from human migration and journeying, and symbolize movement through space to achieve some end.

Processions are much less common than they once were, a statement particularly true in the secular culture of the

United States. Where they exist now, they are likely to have moved indoors, insuring privacy, even in Catholic communities. The traditional procession where a saint is transported about a community by the faithful occurs now only in the most conservative and ethnic areas. In the latter, a few are being reinstated, less for religious reasons than as a statement of pride in heritage.

In St. Augustine one of the last known such processions in which the figure of a saint was carried around town took place about the time of World War I (Clara Mier, oral history tape, St. Augustine Historical Society, 1964). The icon carried in this procession was a Marian statue called the "Hurricane Lady." The story goes that a ship plying between Spain and St. Augustine encountered a severe storm, whereupon the crew prayed, promising that if spared the statue of a madonna would be given to a St. Augustine family. The storm subsided, and the vow was honored (Quinn 1975: 129). In later years the figure came into the possession of the Benét family, a Minorcan family of considerable status. Novelist Stephen Vincent Benét was the family's most famous descendant. The girls of the family each year before Easter carried the Hurricane Lady on a bier about town, followed by townspeople who wished to take part. She was believed to be especially appropriate for Easter as she carried a metal sword, emblematic of the sorrow which

pierced the Virgin's heart upon the death of her son. The cross and sword symbolism is again evident here.

Thus we have an early female procession associated with Easter. Later it was a group of women who instigated the parade around the plaza of women dressed in their Easter finery. This, as we have seen, evolved into the Royal Family and Entourage, begun first by the Solana family descendants just as the Hurricane Lady procession was begun by the Benét family. Women, then, have continued to be a significant part of Easter celebrations in St. Augustine.

Regardless of feminine or masculine inception of the festival, it has been very successful. It is without doubt the most significant celebration of the year. Its main event, the Easter parade, is considered the high point of the public festival year in St. Augustine.

#### The Easter Parade

What is seen? Taking 1983 as a typically good year the parade units included the following:

Clubs (including 5 Shriner groups)-----	25
Military and law enforcement units-----	17
Commercial establishments-----	16
Royal Family units-----	9
Bands-----	6
Queens (local and other towns)-----	5
Regional units-----	2
Non-profit social service organizations--	2
Political-----	1
Church-----	1

Aside from the unique Royal Family feature, this parade could be in "Anytown," USA with its mixture of entries from

clubs, schools, commercial establishments, floats from nearby cities, the ubiquitous Shriners with their "cutsie" vehicles, clowns, etc. One year the Wally Byam caravaners entered a float with "Wally Byam Bunnies" as the theme, featuring slightly overweight feminine members of this travel trailer group dressed in rabbit costumes, chewing carrots. The only church float in the 1983 parade was entered by the African Methodist Episcopal Church although in former years religious entries have been more numerous. At the time of the Bicentennial in the middle 1970s, historical themes came to the fore in St. Augustine as elsewhere. Now aside from the Royal Family entries, justifying the "Parada de los Caballos y Coches" name, the parade carries the usual Easter themes--rabbits, chicks, eggs, resurrection, flowers, springtime.

The parade is the main display of the year for the Royal Family. In that section of the parade the flag bearer comes first, followed by the boy king and his attendants, all on horseback. Next come a series of carriages, the first carrying the queen, the second the princess, each of these with their respective attendants. After this come a series of carriages carrying the remainder of the entourage. The rear is brought up by two separate floats for the past queens and the past princesses. There is symmetry here of king/queen/princess, then entourage, then past queens/past princesses, the neat arrangement broken only by the absence

of past kings. The women's floats carry forth the female float feature already described for Carnival and the Ponce de Leon celebration.

With the exception of the plumes and more masculine trappings on the horses ridden by the boy king and attendants, all other hats on the horses are decorated in elaborate feminine style. The hats are donated by famous women from St. Augustine and elsewhere, or more often, by wives of prominent men. These hats are further ornamented so that their previous owners might not recognize them except for the signs on the horse. To the parade organizers this is serious business, but visitors are more likely to giggle when they see a plain old horse walking along with a fancy creation on its head and a sign on its flank proclaiming "Nancy Reagan."

The decoration of the horses and their special place as exemplars of the parade's name is a significant theme. Feting of horses was a prominent feature of celebrations on the Island of Minorca in the eighteenth century; their part in the St. Johns Eve celebrations and in the Ponce de Leon celebrations in St. Augustine have been noted. Horseback riding and horse races were also a recreation for nineteenth and early twentieth century tourists in St. Augustine.

A horse named "Molly" is especially remembered. She spent many years as a carriage horse pulling tourists about town. Once a year her dependability was rewarded by an

honored place in the Easter parade where she was decorated in feminine paraphernalia including a hat beribboned and swathed in tulle. Her description as "faithful and dependable," admired feminine traits in St. Augustine, led to her choice as a special honoree for the twenty-fifth anniversary Easter parade. Unfortunately, shortly before the holiday she died.

#### The Royal Family Events

The Easter Festival centers on the two weekends of Palm Sunday with its high point, the Blessing of the Fleet, and Easter weekend with its central feature, the Easter parade. In these two events visitors watch the Royal Family and entourage in their two most significant performances of the year. However, there are four smaller events in the Festival cycle revolving around the Royal Family.

They are all four advertised as open to the public, but, except for a few stray tourists, most of the attendees are townspeople, characteristically relatives and friends of the participants. Sometimes those showing up to view the proceedings constitute no more than a handful, especially in recent years, a fact which is never mentioned in the usually good newspaper coverage.

These four events--the Transfer of Office, the Courtyard Presentation, Minorcan Day, and the Fromajardis Serenade--are similar in format but demonstrate a progression from emphasis on royal Spanish to Minorcan, from

grand to humble. They also tend to progress from inside to outside areas through the cycle.

The first of these events, the Transfer of Office is held before Lent begins, in much the same temporal position as the former Carnival. The Courtyard Presentation, sometimes called the Court of Flags or the Historic Pageant, has varied in calendar position, but now is considered to initiate the three week Easter cycle. Both of these events are held in the vaulted courtyard room of the old Alcazar Hotel, and the mood partakes of that former elite image. In the rotunda where men of state and their grand ladies once waltzed, local Minorcan families in brocades and velvets stage elaborate displays. The format is the same for both presentations--one by one entry down the long curving staircases, Royal Family names and actual names announced in measured tones, seating of the Royal Family and entourage in status position on the stage facing the audience, and then a program. The Transfer focuses on the investiture of the new Royal Family each year, while the Presentation centers around the yearly knighting by the queen of three prominent citizens.

This citizen trio selected for knighthood is almost a civic counterpart of the Royal Trio. Perhaps it also shadows back to the selection in the nineteenth century of a "knight" by the woman whose house was the center where the pre-Lenten novenas were held.

Those chosen as knights in the modern ceremony have changed somewhat in recent years. As the number of past members of the Royal Family has increased, the honorees are likely to be those being rewarded for their Royal Family or Easter Festival contributions, and less likely to be well-known townspeople who would probably not otherwise attend the Court Presentation. More women have been honored also. Selection of a tourist to be knighted repeats the nineteenth century pattern of choosing some of the Anglo outsiders for the role of Posy King.

In both of these events, in addition to the main focus, there is a series of performances--dancers, singers, drill groups, playlets, etc.--all billed as "entertainment to please their royal majesties." This three tiered format of a general audience watching a royal audience which in turn watches a series of entertainments is the common form for all the Royal Family events. This structure is also found in some of the other public ceremonies in St. Augustine.

On the Monday after Easter, Minorcan Day is held to celebrate the ethnic heritage. Not much different from the two events just described, its outdoor staging in tourist territory, makes for a larger, although serendipitous, audience.

The fourth small affair is the Fromajardis Ceremony held the Thursday after Easter in the gardens of the Oldest House, an historic house operated by the St. Augustine

Historical Society. The Serenade purports to reenact the traditional pre-Easter Minorcan begging ritual described in Chapter III. Let us take a brief excursion into one onlooker's experience.

#### The Fromajardis Serenade

"There is the potential in modernist ethnography," conclude Marcus and Fischer (1986:68), "for considerable experimentation with textual presentation." Partially fictionalized passages are in this genre. In the following composite account of the Fromajardis Serenade use is made of field notes and tapes, photographs, newspaper articles, and documentary sources. It is hoped that the result will illuminate the change in this cultural form from its practice in the nineteenth century to its modern presentation.

#### A nun views the Fromajardis Serenade

Sister Mary Agatha had taken the vows longer ago than she could remember. In truth, they could not even find her birthdate when her frailty occasioned her entrance into the nursing home maintained by the motherhouse. She was that rarity in the order, born in the town, of an old family, which really meant Minorcan, although her mother had cautioned her never to use that word.

She needed a little fun in her life they said, and she and three others who could still walk were going to the Fromajardis Serenade, just down the street at the Oldest

House. That meant that she had to cancel her early morning walk so that she would have energy for the evening. Usually she walked a few blocks of a morning, stopping to rest part way, half sitting, half leaning against a motel wall, using the time to watch the boats on the bay, letting her mind drift as gently as the cool breezes playing with her dark habit.

The back yard of the "Oldest House", that's what they called it now, looked different, fancy with formal paths to impress the tourists, not the riotous, blooming garden of earlier days with the chicken yard beyond. The owner used to let folks come in and have a picnic there, even tourists if they looked respectable.

It was a fine spring evening with chairs set up beyond the big oak. First, all the people in their old Spanish clothes marched in, like a procession at church, she thought. Their make-believe royal names were given. She could barely understand them. Queen Mariana, Princess Margarita Maria, and King Carlos were plain enough, but then there was marquesa this and condesa that. After the noble names, their own names were told--Masters, Usina, Solana, Rogero--these were names she had known all of her life. The Royal Trio were better looking this year than sometimes, but then none of the three had the old names, the results of marrying in, most likely.

All announced and arranged facing the audience, it was a grand scene, put her in mind of the tableaux that used to be so popular. She especially liked the Chinese couple in their splendid things; reminded her that she once wanted to be a missionary; but she had a special kind of anemia, the "Minorcan curse" they called it, and she had to give up those plans.

The show was "presented for their majesties' pleasure," the announcer said. There was dancing in Spanish costumes by some young people, then a fire dance by a young lady who did well to keep herself from getting burned. The costumes were not very modest, but things had changed. She herself wore a shortened, less fancy version of the old elaborate habit which was so hot in the long St. Augustine summers.

There was a play from the 1600s, actually just a middle-aged couple in peasant clothes (such a contrast with the pretty things that the royalty were wearing) who yelled at each other excitedly for ten minutes or so. A few people up in front were laughing, but she could hardly make out what the actors were saying.

A castanet performance was followed by some acrobatic stunts, "a favorite of King Carlos" it was said. Then the lady announcer with the pretty voice told about the Fromajardis Serenade:

For two centuries Minorcan food, families, and traditions have been perpetuated in St. Augustine. One of the loveliest traditions is

that of the Fromajardis Serenade. Each year during the Easter season the young men went about the city in parties singing. Upon selecting a house they would knock at the window and would receive a knock in return if their visit was welcome. Then in the Minorcan dialect they would sing several stanzas asking for cakes or eggs. The window shutters would open and cakes and other pastries would be placed in the baskets which they held extended on the end of colorful poles. A favorite cake of which these young men sang was made of cheese, and the serenaders thanked their benefactors with a song called the Fromajardis or the cheese-cake song.

After this explanation the band struck up the piece, and the high school chorus sang the song a little off key. The Minorcan words--she remembered them dimly from her childhood--weren't sung quite right. It was supposed to be a sad song in the beginning, and then broke out in a loud demanding way at the end when the carolers asked for food; but these carolers didn't do the end like the fiery outburst that she remembered. Once when she was very young she had tagged along after her big brother. The boys had some banjos and they made quite a racket as they went from house to house. She guessed that they had sung the beginning sad part where the Holy Mother grieved for her son, but mainly she remembered the loud singing at the end when they beat on garbage can lids and asked for treats. She didn't recall any baskets, just some small sacks. If they failed to get any treats they set up a terrible ruckus.

The song finished, the announcer began again in the same solemn tone of voice, "Now while I read to you a few

verses from the young men's song, our lovely costumed hostesses will continue the tradition begun 200 years ago by offering the special Easter treat, the fromajardis, to their majesties." Thereupon, some of the women in fancy dress gave cheese pastries, first to the royal trio, then to the other nobles, and finally the long handled baskets were passed down the seated rows of the audience. She heard someone in front whisper, "This reminds me of a Methodist communion." The pastries did have a cardboard taste, not at all like the delicious little cheese pies that Aunt Clara Mier used to cook and sell at Eastertime at her restaurant.

Meanwhile, in English, the announcer intoned the chorus from the Fromajardis Song:

Let us leave off mourning  
Let us sing with joy  
Let us go and give our salutation to Mary  
Oh Mary!

Three verses followed telling of the birth of Christ. Each verse was followed by the chorus, the measured tones more hypnotic with each repetition, sounding like a chant in Latin.

To end the program the announcer told everyone, "The duties of the Royal Family are not concluded. They will travel many miles and make many appearances before this year is over. Their love of their city is shown by the huge amount of time and effort spent making appearances and yours

is shown by attending these events." An invitation was issued to meet the Royal Family and have refreshments.

The nice hostesses brought little plates of food and glasses of punch to her and the other sisters. People came up to speak to her; many she knew but couldn't call their names. She looked around as she rose to go. Mostly these were people that she knew or had seen around town. Some were close relatives of the play actors. A few were tourists, very few. When one of the tourists had complained that he could not find a chair before the performance began, a man standing nearby had hissed at him, "Most people are here by invitation." Local men always did have a way of speaking their minds.

Disregarding this one bit of spitefulness, it had been an agreeable party, but too solemn to call it a frolic. Nice to have the town and the Minorcans raised up a little bit like this, but she had missed her morning walk and looked forward to going tomorrow.

#### The Why of These Little Events

With the similarity of these events--each includes a procession, each has an audience watching the royal audience watch what are actually identical performances each year--it is questionable what purpose they might serve either in and of themselves or as additions to the Easter Festival.

The last can be disposed of first. Aside from the favorable publicity, previously mentioned, these little

dramas, similar to a Greek chorus, punctuate the festival cycle, give it historical grounding, render it legitimate in the eyes of the organizers.

The purposes internal to the Royal Family itself are two-fold--as training events for the individuals involved and as rites of intensification for the Royal Family and entourage. Both as individuals and as a group they are schooled to aristocratic ways by these rehearsals.

Participants learn to dress, walk, and perform as nobles with poise and dignity, interacting with each other in the proper status sequence. This is not just a training of adults but serves as an enculturation mechanism for the children, because the children in the entourage or performing in the dance troupes are future candidates for roles in the Royal Trio. The boy King is nearly always drawn from the ranks of the pages, although one year this sequence was altered when the son of a bank president from Miami moved back to town with his family. The director of the dance troupe has said that she has started many of the princesses on their way, and now that the Family has been in existence for so long, probably the queens as well begin their ascent in this manner.

Second to this training is the function of group solidarity. These four events at Eastertime, at the beginning of each "royal year," stimulate individual energies and focus such energies on the common project. The

irritations, disappointments and common jealousies that exist are submerged in the myth of the "happy family," an ideal which, for this ethnic group, has a strong credential. A work ethic is operating, too, for the ones who work the hardest are rewarded by the former queens group with increasingly royal positions for themselves or for members of their families. That this does not always go smoothly is attested to by one queen-aspirant who told me that she dropped out when internal politics prevented her from being chosen.

Another small event, the Low Sunday pilgrimage, formerly anchored the Easter Festival at the end. This event which took place at the Nombre de Dios Shrine on the Sunday after Easter was discontinued in 1977. Although it was on the program for 1978, when this researcher arrived at the appointed time nothing was happening and the gift shop operator was not sure that they had enough people. Actually such a procession and mass are now held on St. Augustine's birthday in September, the month of lowest tourist visitation.

#### The Blessing of the Fleet

So far we have been considering a festival cycle with a feminine mold. One event, however, the Blessing of the Fleet, taking place on Palm Sunday after mass, has a masculine stamp. It evokes images of a romantic maritime past extending into the present, of brave men setting out to

sea for their livelihood, many never to return, of their solace in the Church's sanctification of their enterprise. Such yearly rituals are common among seafaring peoples the world over, but reached a climax in the Mediterranean world in medieval times (Braudel 1966). Even today it is a deeply religious and solemn ritual, although in the United States, in places where it continues uninterrupted from the Old World, it is often somewhat secularized and tourist oriented.

This seasonal rite initiating the fishing season does not have an impressive history in St. Augustine. It is true that the first Minorcan Church in the New World at New Smyrna was named San Pedro and many of the colonists were fishermen, but fishing was most often a seasonal rather than a full time occupation. Also, as described in the previous chapter, on Good Friday in early St. Augustine a man dressed as St. Peter tried to catch young boys who taunted him (Deland 1889), symbolically catching the fish (boys) for the seafaring life.

However, it was not until the shrimping industry reached its peak in St. Augustine that the Blessing ceremony was initiated, and while discontinuous, it predates the rest of the Easter Festival. The priests had been in the habit of blessing individual shrimp boats when they were launched from local boatyards, and in 1946 Father Daniel Hegerty had the idea of blessing the entire fleet before the boats put

out for the spring season. Except for townspeople and a few visitors, the event at first was largely attractive to the people who made their living on the water--Italian families who had moved into town and founded the shrimp industry plus Minorcans, Greeks, and blacks who were recruited to work on the boats, many of whom later became boat owners themselves.

The Blessing of the Shrimp Fleet was conducted much as it is today except for the fact that all of the boats were shrimp boats as the original name of the ceremony implies. A Church procession proceeded to the bayfront after Palm Sunday mass where the ranking clergy blessed each boat in turn. A movie of one of the early ceremonies (St. Augustine Historical Society film collection) depicts church dignitaries in the procession along with Boy Scouts as standard bearers, followed by the festival king and queen and their court. The latter walked in pairs looking a little like a high school prom queen and king and entourage. This queen and king were chosen from among the shrimping families and reigned at the ball on the night before Palm Sunday. Aside from the queen and court ladies, the actual blessing was a masculine enterprise. However, women of the shrimping families rode in the boats during the ceremony, and the boats plied on down the river afterwards as an outing for the family participants.

The ritual was discontinued in St. Augustine a few years later as shrimping changed and its center moved

elsewhere. It was also rumored that there was disagreement among the participating families about the choice of the king and queen and on the way that festival funds should be administered.

The Blessing was revived in 1959 by the Ancient City Game and Fish Association, a relatively new organization at that time, in cooperation with the Catholic Church. In the first three years the president of the Association was chairman of the ceremony, but in the fourth year of the organization's existence a Protestant president was elected. When he refused to conduct the event a former president stepped into the breach and has capably managed the ceremony ever since. This chairman who is of Mediterranean heritage and a Catholic, but not Minorcan in descent, has played many other roles in the town including that of mayor.

Once revived, The Blessing of the Fleet, as it is now called, enjoyed enormous popularity and is presently the star in the Palm Sunday weekend which also includes the annual arts and crafts show in the plaza and several private Palm Sunday luncheons and dinners as well as the "public invited" fish dinner at the St. Augustine Boating Club, an organization of small power boat owners.

The weekend draws a more elite crowd than the Easter weekend does, attracted both by the blessing of the boats and the Arts and Crafts Show. Staged on the plaza, the arts show, like its counterpart on Thanksgiving weekend, is very

well attended and has a reputation as one of the best such shows in the state.

Boaters from everywhere are in town. In recent years when pleasure boats and lived-in boats dot the bay at all times of the year and yacht basins do a thriving tourist business, St. Augustine has become the place on the Eastern seaboard for boaters to be on Palm Sunday. It also becomes a gateway to the north as the pleasure boaters who have berthed in South Florida all winter begin their northward trek in the spring, although less of these boats are in evidence in years when Easter's date is early. The rite does, though, initiate the pleasure boating season for the whole region and attracts many boaters from the Jacksonville area. This is an interesting equivalent of the ceremony as a marker of the beginning of the shrimping season of former days. Now the Coast Guard and the Navy also take a strong role in the event. Ranking personnel are furnished housing by prominent citizens and otherwise feted.

Taking the same fictional license as in the Fromajardis Serenade vignette, the Blessing of the Fleet will now be glimpsed from several points of view:

A Religious Person's Viewpoint

A priest participating in the actual blessing, although he perhaps could not have expressed it so eloquently, would certainly agree with Father Hegarty's statement in the 1947 souvenir program:

The Catholic Religion is a religion with a ritual. there is a flair of finery in her externals, pageantry, even drama, in her ceremonies, and splendor in her psychological approaches to the soul. She is colorful to arrest men's minds and to captivate their hearts. She hits at the senses and imagination by means of a skillfully prepared ritual built up through the centuries. And this, everyone admits, is one of the reasons for her never-ending success under God.

From the spectacular ceremonies of a coronation or canonization, through the sublime ritual of the sacraments and Holy Mass, down to even the simplest blessings, the Church appeals to the minds and hearts of men, lifts them up palpably from the mire of earth, and sets them down gently and lovingly in an antechamber of heaven.

He would see the importance of the Church's authorization of the ceremony. The firmness of the Church's sponsorship was clearly shown several years ago when the Blessing was canceled because of rain. In spite of the entreaties of business leaders to hold it on another day, Church permission was refused for the obvious reason that it has a special place on the liturgical calendar.

It is fitting, he thinks, that the town profit spiritually from the solemn occasion for it speaks of the intertwined history of the Church and town for over 400 years. The role of the church is even enhanced today with two new churches since the 1970s, the elevation of the Cathedral as a Basilica, the re-establishment of a Franciscan convent, and a mission on Anastasia Island. After a decline in the percent of Catholics in the community

in the 1960s and 70s, it is now clear that St. Augustine is becoming a retirement area for Catholics from all over the nation. What better way to bring this diversity into a Catholic unity than by celebration of an ancient ritual.

The procession is as colorful as always with the large cross preceding the Bishop and clergy followed by the Knights of Columbus, Navy and Coast Guard personnel and the St. Augustine Royal Family and entourage. They traverse the path from the Cathedral to city dock, skirting the plaza with its craft booths, emptied out now while people watch the ceremony. The Royal Family is a discordant note perhaps, although the present Bishop, who has a fondness for pageantry and always takes part in Palm Sunday mass and the Blessing in St. Augustine, is very particular that the Royal Family be invited each year. Our priest guesses that they take the place of all the children who, he has heard, walked in the procession back when it first began.

At the end of the dock all are assembled in readiness. He remembers the year that the U.S. flags now flying in splendid array from the avenue of lamp posts on the Bridge of Lions were blessed and dedicated on Palm Sunday. They were each one flown over the capitol in Washington during the time of the hostage crisis in Iran. The Altrusa Club, mostly good Catholic ladies, had obtained them for St. Augustine. Now they are flown for every celebration in the city.

As the boats begin to pass by and holy water is sprinkled the ending words of the original blessing service are intoned, "May the peace and benediction of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, descend upon these vessels, and upon all who shall be in them, and may this peace and blessing endure forever. Amen." First comes the Coast Guard Cutter, followed by the shrimp boats and other fishing boats from the local and visiting fleets. The pleasure boats are next with boating organizations each in their own groups, and next the larger individual yachts, and finally tailing out to the ragtag of small pleasure boats. Power is now required and a good thing, too, because the large number of boats can take more than an hour to pass.

The parade of boats continues on and on and it seems to him as though those in some of the pleasure craft are not showing proper reverence. Protestants most likely, thinking it a lark and nothing more. He remembers back to his first days in the priesthood when taking part in such ritual filled him with awe, when it had more meaning. He captures a little of that feeling again as the wreath in honor of those who have lost their lives at sea is cast out upon the water. He watches it bobbing up and down until its anchor shape recedes into the distance.

#### A Land-Locked Tourist's View

Such a tourist may have seen an article about the event in a regional or national magazine, or read of it in Fodor's

guide. He finds it hard to find a place for himself and his family among the thousands of people. He has spent all morning touring the restoration area and the fort--almost like going back into the past to walk down the narrow streets with their overhanging balconies, especially if you ignore the commercialization. The children are tired and cranky but it seems best to wait lunch since the event starts at 12:00 noon. Noticing the number of tourists (or are they local people?) on the bridge, they move there to watch the dock. Nothing happens until 12:30, and then they can see the tip of a cross moving through the crowd.

A certain charm descends, not too different from that felt at moments in the town. Bells are pealing, flags rippling, and the elaborate skirts and priestly vestments blow artfully in the wind as the silhouetted procession marches along the wharf. Ashamed to be sentimental, he jokes to his wife, "Maybe they are all lemmings and will fall off the dock into the water" (field notes, Griffin 1979).

He enjoys watching the husky work boats being blessed; after all that is what the real ceremony is all about. Envy is his feeling as the large plush yachts move by. After a while the children are restless, and others are seen leaving to visit the arts and crafts show. He and his wife debate about whether to try to find the fish fry on Vilano Beach,

but finally decide that is for local people, and they settle for hot dogs at one of the stands bordering the plaza.

Shrimp Boat Captain and Crew

This is one of the best times of the year for him. He still has relatives in St. Augustine, and they have helped him deck out his trawler with flags and bunting and placed a cross on the pilot house. He and other shrimpers all had a blowout the night before at his cousin's house. It was good to hear news about the new shrimp beds discovered near Key West, and there was someone there who knew something about the new government regulations on shrimping.

He remembers a year when he was younger and his father's boat had led the procession and one of his aunts was the queen. After the blessing they went on down the Matanzas to the Inlet. The whole fleet did. It was the custom. They will do that again for old times sake.

It is so big a thing now, so many boats, a little touristy and commercial, but at no other time of the year does the Church take note of him, or the plight of the fisherman, even celebrating the fishers among the apostles. He feels a part of a long and worthy tradition and proud all over again as he was when they had the ceremony christening the Mary V after she was launched at Xynides' boat yard right here in St. Augustine.

This will be the first time that this crew has been together at a blessing of the fleet, and their families are

along--all Catholic. It will mean something to them, and maybe even bring back the one he understands has been going to one of those Pentecostal churches on Wednesday nights.

Pleasure Boat Captain

He thinks of this as a great time, like old home week. A lot of his buddies who winter in South Florida at Ft. Lauderdale make it a point to have their boats back here on their way north in time for the Blessing. His brass and teak are polished, his signal flags are flying, and he has family and friends aboard. He is nervous about the long wait to get to the dock, and a little afraid that he might do something wrong. Last year he saw the priest frown at his daughter who was lounging in the bow in her bathing suit. This year he has made everyone read the instructions as printed in a local paper:

Do not pass the city pier at high speed as your wake will wreak havoc with other participants. Please avoid loud engine noises, if possible, and loud talk or other unseemly conduct. Place all alcoholic beverages out of sight when approaching the pier and men are asked to remove hats or caps when passing the pier. Ladies are asked to wear skirts or other suitable covering--during the actual blessing--in keeping with the solemn ceremony. Please do not throw trash in the bay. [St. Augustine Record, March 25, 1983]

That incense and water couldn't really protect his boat, could it? Still, last year he had chided his friend who had refused to take part in such a silly ceremony, but that fellow's boat did spring an unexpected leak a couple of months later.

As he passed the pier he thought he caught a glance of approval from the priest. He stood erect and proud behind the wheel as he replaced his braided yachting cap. He ordered that drinks for everyone be served and swung his bow toward the Bridge of Lions, headed for the Yacht Club where a fine lunch and good times with his friends awaited. "It's great to be a boat tourist in St. Augustine," he thought, feeling at that moment superior to the mass of people on the land.

#### Festival Ambience

While the Blessing of the Fleet has a more masculine cast than the rest of the festival, its description as "solemn but colorful" shades it into the overall message and atmosphere of the Easter Festival. The only part of the Easter Festival with any leitmotif at all is the parade which includes the clowns, the "shoot em up" participation of the "pirates" from nearby Fernandina, the antics of the Shriners, and the raucous hilarity of the people hanging out of the bus owned by the Tradewinds, a well-known local bar.

Just as in any sedate ritual, a funeral for instance (and this is not so far fetched as it might be since Easter celebrates the transition into death), the humor often must occur spontaneously to relieve the somber cadence. There are little things that bring a smile to people's lips--the small page who scuffles and pushes his friend in a Royal Family tableau, or the horse with the hat ornamented with a

stuffed bunny which keeps coming loose and flopping down into the horse's eyes. Spontaneous dramas have happened, several of which could serve as illustrations. The following is especially instructive.

In 1979 the reviewing stand for the parade was in front of Flagler College where it had been for some years. It happens that the area is close to the southwest corner of the plaza, which is also the part of the parade route nearest to Lincolnville and the West Augustine black section as well, so the crowd is heavily representative of the local black community. That year as the Hastings High School band, all black in composition, neared the plaza corner it struck up a spirited jazz number. It happened very fast, but suddenly the crowd had merged with the band and spontaneous dancing broke out. The whole parade came to an abrupt standstill. Sensing a problem, police converged from every direction, and after about five minutes they succeeded in breaking up the dancing, and the parade once more resumed its march past the VIPs.

The following year the reviewing stand was moved to its present location opposite the fort at the northeast corner of the tourist section. The Wally Byam caravaners had been accustomed to setting up their lawn chairs to watch the parade in the last block before the reviewing stand, and the next year they, too, had chosen to locate elsewhere on the route.

As enacted, the overall tone of the Easter Festival is Catholic, but Protestant elements are present in the three week cycle. The Easter sunrise service atop the fort is the major example. There are also Protestant elements in the passion play. Likewise, the Easter Promenade, held on the plaza after church on Easter Sunday, with judging and awards for Easter finery, follows an American Protestant pattern with some secular overlay. Publicity on the festival always advises visitors to go to the churches of their own choice on Easter Sunday.

#### Trouble in Paradise

In 1984, breaking a long-time tradition of full and enthusiastic coverage of the Easter Festival, the St. Augustine Record published a derogatory editorial stating that overall the Easter Parade was of poor quality, unbecoming to a historical town, an embarrassment. Thus some free floating discontent began to crystallize which by 1987 erupted into a heated interchange. Much of the unfavorable comment was focused on the Royal Family and the Easter Parade.

Criticism was coming into the open from Minorcan as well as non-Minorcan sources. The Coquina Ethic people have been mildly intolerant towards the festival, most of the criticism having to do with the Royal Family. I have heard comments contrasting the "poor garrison town," as St. Augustine actually was, not exactly fitting with "polyester

royalty." The question has been asked by these purists, "Do they know that that particular boy king in Spanish history was an idiot?"

Some of the more sophisticated participants in the Royal Family activities have become aware of the problem. One informant told of going to an event organizer (one of the Coquina Ethic group) to ask why the Royal Family had not been included. She was sent home with a book on Spain's history to read. Being discussed is the possibility of choosing another royal family model. Non-participating Minorcans have also been aware of this aspect. As one informant stated flatly, "I wouldn't want my son to take that role." To those still closer to their folk culture the royal representations have no relevance in their lives at all.

The groundswell of opposition came into full flower in 1987 coincident with, or perhaps more accurately augmented by, the initiation in the St. Augustine Record of a column called "Talk of the Town." People were invited to phone in to "tell us what's on your mind," given a sixty second limit, and could remain anonymous. Before Easter there were complaints in the column about the parade being on Easter Day. This one is typical:

It would probably be a good idea to have the Easter Parade on the Saturday evening the week before Easter Sunday. There are supposedly never enough units in the parade because of religious obligations and there might be more support in the

parade if it were not held on Easter. Evening parades seem to do very well, and the quality of the parade might be better. [St. Augustine Record April 18, 1987]

After Easter a kind of forum developed over the Easter Festival and its participants. One such interchange was started by a Talk of the Town comment, "People of Minorcan ancestry resent very much having people who are not of Minorcan ancestry in the royal carriages" (St. Augustine Record: April 25, 1987). This was not a new complaint, and to answer some of the growing criticism a full page article published the prior year noted that while "since its founding, the Easter Festival and Royal Trio have been synonymous" that the entourage "represent the courts of many countries." The wife of the Royal Family Director was quoted as saying, "you do not have to be a heritage native to participate in the Easter Festival" (St. Augustine Record: March 29, 1986). She herself has the court name of Lady Rachel Parnell of Ireland.

The complaint by another Talk of the Town caller that the Easter Parade was "high falutin and junky" brought a storm of protests, the following being typical:

I'm the lady who called last week about riding my horse in the Easter parade. The complaint, that they said had nothing to do with me, did! I wasn't referring to the Royal Family at all. I was referring to the gentleman that said our parade was highfalutin. As far as the royal family goes, I've ridden my horse many times with them including this year, and although my husband's family is the oldest documented family in the United States, I have no royal blood in me

at all. But I still represent the parade and St. Augustine with a lot of pride, and besides, who knows who's royal and who's not and who really cares? [St. Augustine Record: May 9, 1987]

Aside from sharpening our focus on the problems of declining local participation in the Festival, the last comment is revealing of the struggle in tourist towns which are ethnic or historical display areas--and St. Augustine is both--around "realness" and "authenticity." Still, the leap from grandeur to "true" representation of St. Augustine's humble past as defined by the Coquina Ethic people is not an easy one. The perpetuation of the vanishing elite image of the Flagler and Alcazar eras combined with the romance of royal Spanish heritage is fertile ground for continuation of self-admiring display in the town. However, changes are taking place.

Attendance at twelve Easter Festivals in the town allows the observation of the following shifts:

- 1) less community support and participation since 1980,
- 2) a dramatic fall off in attendance at the four tableau events,
- 3) a decrease in working boats taking part in the Blessing of the Fleet, and a corresponding rise in pleasure boats, a change not entirely attributable to the decline in local shrimping,
- 4) a decreasing number of units in the Easter Parade, and those remaining are of poorer quality than formerly,

5) expansion of the "heritage native" concept to other ethnic groups,

6) increasing local criticism of the Festival and resentment at having to stage it for the tourists, especially the Easter Parade.

7) an increase in the number of tourists attending the big events of the Easter Festival.

These changes may be wholly or partially attributed to the following:

1) the many economic and social changes in the community,

2) the consequent large scale marketing of both tourism and retirement developments,

3) the increasing sophistication and rise in status of the Minorcan group in the community and the consequent shrinking of the number willing to take part in a revitalization movement,

4) the retirement or death of a number of long time Easter Festival principals,

5) lack of local community support for a festival no longer seen as relevant to the concerns of many of the town's citizens,

6) the increase in pervasiveness of the coquina ethic.

To say that the Easter Festival today is an embarrassment to the community is perhaps an overstatement. It may be better to look at the present format as having

outgrown its usage, its symbolism no longer syntonic with the town's new coming-of-age status. What once was a people's celebration put on for both the local people and for the tourists, has now become a tourist festival with grudging local involvement. When Philip Genovar stepped down from the presidency of the Festival in 1986, he mentioned as his one regret "a lack of interest on the part of some people in support of the Easter Festival" (St. Augustine Record, April 4, 1987).

The fact that the festival has maintained a stability and sameness for such a long period of time is due in no little part to the steady, long-time leadership. The deaths of the traditional Easter Parade reviewing stand announcer and the Easter Promenade Director and the retirement of several others has made a decided change.

On a visual level the beautiful and elaborate floats of other years are especially missed since the retirement of the Jacksonville man whose avocation was building the floats each year. He worked in consort with several others in the execution of these masterpieces, storing them permanently in the barn of a county landowner. Only one float in 1987, that of a local florist, which won first prize, could match the artistry of former years.

#### Concluding Remarks

Just as some of the symbols and myths of the past have outlived their original meaning, so interpretation of those

myths as later institutionalized in festivals loses credence. Once a critical point has been passed, change is inevitable in public display.

St. Augustine's current plunge into postindustrial society makes the Easter Festival prone to crack under the stress. It would appear that this Festival, the most significant local festival, is at a stage of where some changes in the public ritual are impending. It is difficult to predict the future of the Easter Festival except to say that it will probably continue in some guise because of the large number of tourists who attend. Looking at the life course of festivals, one frequently finds that although there may be a long-run trend, that it is also common to see temporary fluctuations in the opposite direction lasting over a period of several years. Perhaps the period from 1984 to 1987 was a temporary low point.

In the next chapter a festival theme, that of the "birthday" of St. Augustine, will demonstrate a complex which has already differentiated into a number of separate celebrations.

CHAPTER V  
ST. AUGUSTINE'S BIRTHDAYS

St. Augustine's history was also its curse.

Edward N. Akin, 1988

On September 8, 1979, State Representative Hamilton Upchurch speaking at the annual outdoor ceremony and mass at Mission Nombre de Dios commemorating the founding of the town by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés concluded with the following:

All those indices of urban growth that have passed us by ironically are now working to our advantage because people's lifestyles are changing. What was the quiet city and is still the quiet city is suddenly becoming the popular place, the in place to live and work. We in St. Augustine are now facing unparalleled development. People are coming to this city in ever increasing numbers. Why? Because they crave our quietness and because they love the quaintness of this city. And what are we going to do in St. Augustine when we grow up? The greatest challenge for this city is can we assimilate the people that will come, the many people that will come, and yet retain the charm and character that is St. Augustine. Whether St. Augustine meets the challenge depends on us here today. We must continue to demonstrate by birthdays and other ceremonies and recognitions that we, you and I, the leaders of this community now must demonstrate that we care about St. Augustine while we revere the past.

In 1986 at the annual Days in Spain Fiesta, also commemorating the town's birthday, a young couple sitting on a bench in the plaza engaged in the following conversation:

He (obviously a member of the Jaycees, the sponsor of the event): This is terrible; nobody's here. They should have had advertising. Maybe people from Palatka and other places would like to come-- let the motels know. They'll have to do something. I'm going to say something at the next meeting.

She: The booths aren't anything.

He: They need the crafts people, like the Easter Festival.

She: Maybe the organizations didn't make any money. (At this point they were interrupted by a woman in 18th century dress who gave them a menu from a new restaurant across the street. The man took it, glanced at it briefly, then rose and threw it in a nearby trash can in disgust.)

These two seemingly little-related events have a great deal to do with what is happening in the town in general and the events which have constituted festival life since the late 1950s. This chapter will trace St. Augustine's three birthday celebrations; two mark the founding of the town by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, and the third commemorates the birthday of Menéndez himself.

The Days in Spain fiesta is aimed at tourists and therefore is displaced from the actual birthday by several weeks in order to attract the last of the summer tourists in August. The actual founding date, September 8th, is commemorated by a mock landing and reenactment of the first mass on the grounds of the Mission, Nombre de Dios, and is a church and local affair. The third event, Menéndez's birthday, is staged by the city and draws heavily on those with a coquina ethic.

Taken together, the "birthdays" ritually emphasize the town's image of itself as the oldest city in the United States. The origin myth enacted repetitively sharpens the emotional impact of the projected message for local people. The dramas also convince outsiders of the town's worth. As will be seen, the distribution of these ceremonies in the year's calendar, and the way in which the "birthday" is celebrated have a relationship to the constellation of local people and tourists present at the time of year. The Days in Spain will be given the most attention as it is considered St. Augustine's second largest festival.

#### Days in Spain

In the late 1940s the St. Augustine Garden Clubs initiated an event called A Day in Spain. It was held intermittently in March for several years. The day had a gentile aspect and emphasized the Spanish motif with flamenco entertainment and yellow and red Spanish colors everywhere. Reminiscent of the flower stalls and embowered altars of the nineteenth century, fresh spring flowers were sold from decorated carts. Garden Clubs and community leaders from surrounding areas were invited. Review of a A Day in Spain film of that era (St. Augustine Historical Society, Film Collection) allows the conclusion that about one-third to one-half of the participants made an attempt to come in costume.

After several lackluster years in the 1950s the St. Augustine Jaycees restructured the event into a four day cycle and moved it from early spring to the weekend in September nearest to the town's founding date. It was renamed Days in Spain.

Unlike the Garden Club's Day in Spain which functioned as a kind of showcase of the town and its Spanish heritage, the Days in Spain fiesta is avowedly staged to make money. The local organizations renting booth space expect financial benefit. Secondly, the Jaycee sponsors consider the fiesta as one of their main moneymakers of the year. Thirdly, it is believed that tourist accommodations and attractions profit from the tourists attracted to the city by the fiesta.

The fiesta has been a movable feast in both date and space. In the late 1950s when it began, it was staged in September on the weekend nearest to the actual birthday date, and was held on Aviles Street, which runs south from the plaza. This street together with the plaza and surrounding area was the main center of tourism before the restoration program was initiated. Not as a researcher, but as a young mother, I attended the event for several years at that time. Aside from the red and yellow banners and decorations and the few local people dressed in what is best described as Mexican-Spanish garb--that is, sombreros, boleros and toreador pants decorated with ball fringe for

the men and flouncy dresses and lace mantillas with roses behind the ear for the women--the event was little different from the small town carnival of the day any place in the United States.

Later after the restored area north of the plaza became the main visitor mecca, the fiesta was staged on St. George Street, the principal street running through that area. Each year temporary booths were built under the overhanging balconies and spirited Spanish music echoed off the coquina walls. Spectators could watch small dramas enacted on the balconies and walls, but the main staging area was in what was called the "goat lot." This vernacular name was attached to an open space because the goats used by the Cross and Sword play were wintered there after the close of the play each summer.

The excitement of swordsmen clashing steel on the balconies and then executing leaps from balcony to wall to street was not destined to last. Citing the cleanup problems and congestion that it caused as well as possible damage to historic buildings, but actually because it was not in keeping with the recreated historic scene, the Preservation Board eventually refused permission for use of this space. The festival was then moved to the plaza. At about the same time the date was changed to August, right before Labor Day, to catch the last of the summer tourists. Its theme was still that of a birthday celebration, however.

Image of Days in Spain 1978-1981

In this section we will discuss the fiesta as it was at the end of its period of greatest vigor. At the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s it was in its full flower as an attractant and moneymaker and, coincidentally, also at the moment in community time when the present economic boom was imminent.

Among themselves the Coquina Ethic group sometimes refer to the Days in Spain as the "Redneck Fiesta." Those describing the fiesta in such unflattering terms decry the hamburger and hot dog stand aspect with its nod to the town's Spanish heritage. One could, from this elitist stance, argue that it failed to add historical prestige to the community, but even its critics would agree that its wide local attendance made it for a time a significant community festival.

The overriding image of the fiesta is ludic, in the original meaning of that word, thus playful and aggressive at the same time. It brings forward in modern guise the pre-Lenten Carnival, denuded in the modern day of the classic religious features. Almost all of the secular elements are there. At one booth, clown faces are painted on festival goers, mostly children and adolescents, for a price (masking). Another booth offers confetti eggs to break over a friend's or enemy's head (ritual aggression). At still another booth a thrown ball can dunk a pretty girl

or local politician (inversion of status and ritual of aggression).

A popular booth with the young boys is the one selling plastic swords, just right for jousting with rivals. The mock skirmishes taking place continually in the plaza among the children are reminiscent of the stick fighting common in European carnivals. However, a closer model exists, for the hallmark of the Days in Spain is the sword fight staged by some of the Jaycees dressed as Spaniards and Frenchmen.

About four times each day of the fiesta a gun sounds, a cue for a vast tide of children, black and white, to dash to the west end of the plaza where some "Spaniards" are struggling with one "French" soldier. He is captured and hauled to the central stage where the rest of the French soldiers come to his support, and a fight ensues. The fight is surprisingly realistic, a result of the skill developed over the years by the participating Jaycees. The crowd is constantly warned to stay back out of the way of the clashing steel because the weapons are "real." The altercation is finally won by the Spanish in accord with the history of St. Augustine; but one year, as a surprise, the French were allowed to win.

These sword fights recapitulate an old theme, the mock dramas and dances celebrating the triumph of the Christian Spaniards over the Moors in Spain. Foster gives this description of the combates de Moros y Cristianos:

In broad outline the representation of Moors and Christians is a drama which takes place in the streets and plaza of a city or town. . . . The Moors challenge the Christian stronghold, overpower it, and again have it wrested away from them by the Christians, although not without a hard struggle in which the outcome for long seems in doubt. [Foster 1960:221]

The Days in Spain sword fight, recreating the repelling of the Huguenot heretics by the Catholic Spaniards, cannot, perhaps claim a direct descent from the old Spanish form. However, diffusion of the ritual enactment of this "righteous" conflict between true believers and barbarian infidels is as diverse as the Morris dances in England, the stick fights enacted all over Europe, and the directly lifted Christian-Moor confrontations to be found in South American cultural dramas.

Regardless of antecedents, this recurring fight in St. Augustine with its swashbuckling bravado, punctuating the fiesta throughout its four days, does bring masculinity and strength, aggression and force, to the fore, setting the controlling masculine image of the festival cycle. For if the Easter Festival's image is feminine with a few masculine elements, the Days in Spain Fiesta is masculine with a few feminine embellishments. Sexually suggestive dancing, usually with a Spanish theme, by various local dance troops and schools, furnishes an exaggerated, seductive female element which complements the machismo image of the fiesta.

The fiesta is noisy with constant confusion. Sometimes two musical events will be taking place at once--a dance on the main stage built especially each year for the occasion and perhaps a guitarist holding forth from the small platform in front of the gazebo. The noise of both of these may be compounded by a strolling accordionist. At intervals the bell will ring when a strong male is able to wield the hammer with enough power to set off the strength meter. Adding to the din is the constant sound of cars cruising around the plaza, some honking horns. All the while a low murmur comes from the open public market where a bingo game attracts a large group--mostly St. Augustine's "bingo regulars" whose recreation is to move from game to game all through the year in the town.

The smell of the ponies at the Pony Ride at the east end of the plaza blends on a hot night with the odors of food cooking at the various booths. Especially pungent is the sickly sweet smell of cotton candy.

#### Time, Space, and Social Structure

We have noted the calendar time of the fiesta and its location in the center of town in the plaza. Now let us examine how the bounded space of that central location is used, how the fiesta progresses through its four days and the implied local social structure in these elements. Its impact on tourists will be included where relevant.

Figure 10 is a map of of the fiesta layout in the plaza in 1981. That year, in addition to booths and concessions, there were three stages--the main stage, the gazebo, and the wagon stage at the west end of the plaza. A group called the St. George Street players performs on the wagon stage. These players are a small outfit, one couple and several others, who perform regularly in the restoration area and use appearances at the Days in Spain, the Fromajardis Serenade, and other local and out of town events as advertising and public service.

The main food booths are to the south of the main stage, while another subsidiary food area is found on the east side of the plaza. Next on the east comes the bingo game. The children's pony ride and other children's activity booths are mostly at the southeast corner of the plaza.

Each of the booths at the fiesta is a little self contained constituency often mirroring fragments of the social structure of the town. The usual picture is of two or three people manning the booth with lawn chairs circled around to accommodate other members of the club and their families. Still others, closely connected in some way, can be seen visiting with these nuclei sometimes briefly, other times sitting down for a spell. Tourists, who in almost all cases stick strictly to the sidewalks, focus on the booth offerings and miss the interaction in this back area.

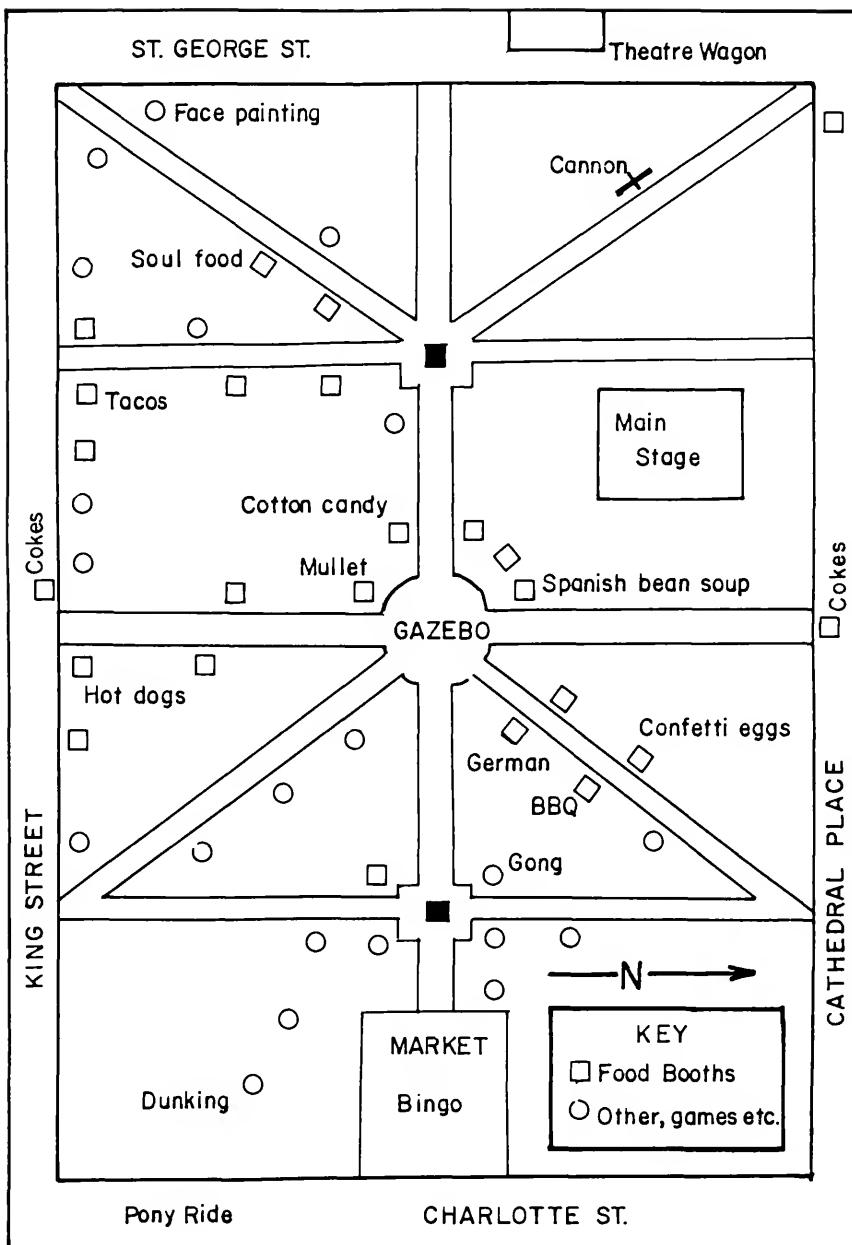


Figure 10. Days in Spain Diagram

This scene fits the model articulated by Goffman (1959:106-140) in which he describes "front regions" as impersonal spheres in which the local community interacts with strangers while "back regions" are where meaningful local group interactions take place. Strangers are thus excluded easily from local interaction through the very physical setup in which such a scene takes place.

Some people, often the older age group or less well connected people like the new residents, set up lawn chairs facing the main stage. Local children and youth, except the very young, of course, are more mobile than the adults. Tourist children, in contrast, stick close to the safety of their family groups.

Both positioning of booths and kind of wares are privileged territory for long time participants. Even places where vehicles are parked are temporarily "owned." Year after year positioning provides a stable core, a temporary community that replicates other community structures.

Using the only booth run by blacks as an example, we can see how it relates to the temporary plaza fiesta community. This booth, known as the NAACP soulfood booth is midway along the southwest walkway. It is in a position in which the main stage may be easily seen so that the blacks who cluster there, even though they may drift forward when something interesting is being performed, never seem to be

intruding on white festival attendees. This southwest position is the traditional one for blacks. Lincolnville is in the southwest quadrant of the town. Parades are customarily viewed by black citizens from the southwest part of the plaza, and, of course, they enter the plaza to participate in the fiesta from that direction. A most interesting parallel is to be found in the primarily-Catholic San Lorenzo cemetery where the southwest section is reserved for black graves.

This is not to say that blacks do not circulate through the entire booth area, but what happens, particularly with the older age group, is that they will make a round of the booths and if they plan to stay longer at the fiesta, they gravitate back to station themselves near the soulfood booth.

No blacks had performed at the fiesta until the Leonard's Ballet school added a black flag-dancer and a young black boy as part of the troupe in 1979. The flag dancer was tall, at a guess probably six feet four or five inches, and not a part of the local community. He was dressed in Spanish costume with ruffled sleeves that floated as he executed high jumps weaving an intricate pattern with his flags. The blacks in the audience watched this performance very closely and some of the older ones could be seen glancing carefully around at the white audience before joining in the applause.

The young white "locals" hang out at the northwest corner by a cannon near the diagonal walkway which serves as the main entrance for local people as well as for tourists. The young whites, then, are in the northwest quadrant next to the southwest quadrant where most of the young blacks congregate. Sometimes there is trouble. In 1980 a group of black boys went to the defense of a black girl who was being heckled by some white youths. A general altercation occurred which was quickly broken up by the police. Younger children of both groups tend to stay on their own side of this informal color line except during the sword fights. In the years of observation a number of scuffles were seen between white and black groups, between different white groups, but never between two groups of black boys. However, there was much good natured bantering and horseplay among the blacks.

The small racial confrontations at the fiesta, were they to occur in a school or ordinary town context, could escalate to the proportions of the sieges of "racial unrest" periodically reported at the high schools. In the ritual context of fiesta such "little fights" are not viewed as seriously as they might be in other community arenas.

Within the context of the bounded event where all participants are in a state of communitas, tenuous though it may be, the carnival atmosphere becomes a safety valve for the release of community tensions. Furthermore, the mock

fighting of their elders--two factions in combat--sanctions their own release of aggression. Interestingly, the year that the French won the Jaycee sword fight, the black youths were seen cheering enthusiastically.

The little Spanish Harlem group, which, as previously described, includes some blacks as well as Spanish speaking migrants, tends to pick a place on the south side of the plaza and keep separate from all other groups. They run the gamut in age from babies to mature adults and include both sexes. Days in Spain is the only public event in the town with the exception of the Lincolnville Festival (to be examined in the next chapter) where this group is in evidence. Perhaps the Spanish theme attracts them to the fiesta.

To the busy fiesta scene we must add the cruising pickups filled with rednecks or "homegrowns" as one bystander called them. These are slightly older-age young white men of the town who circle the plaza, usually three to a pickup truck, shouting out the windows as they wave beer cans at their friends. They can be seen cruising slowly by the main stage issuing catcalls and whistles whenever a female dance troop is performing.

The tourists are easy to spot as they wear shorts, remain in tight family groups, sport new sunburns, and have a demeanor of uncertainty, of not knowing all of the cues. They keep to the walkways usually entering from the

northeast and northwest corners nearest the tourist area. They spend much less time at the fiesta than townspeople, rarely watching more than one or two stage performances. Those with children sometimes stay longer.

Characteristically, tourists patronize no more than two or three booths and often these are the booths of national organizations with local chapters. However, frequently such booths are manned by new retirees who have themselves followed this avenue in attaching themselves to town life. Nevertheless, such tenuous links give tourists a sense of participation in the fiesta, however shallow that interaction may in fact be.

Few of the tourists have been attracted to the town because of the fiesta, rather they may happen upon it as they stroll about after dinner. When asked, they will say that they think the festivities take place every night. It becomes simply a patch of their vacation mosaic, a serendipity that temporarily adds to their pleasure.

Sometimes tourists have trouble differentiating between reality and staged drama. At 7:00 P.M. one fiesta evening in 1979 a wedding took place at the Cathedral across the street. It happened that the bells began to peal and the wedding party emerged through the heavy church doors just at a time when there was a lull in the program on the main stage across the street. I was taking notes on a clipboard nearby, and several parties of tourists questioned me as to

whether this was part of the show. Only moments earlier they had watched the staged spontaneity of the sword fight on another street bordering the plaza.

Certain ritualistic events, informal in nature but sanctioned by repetition, have evolved through the years. The customary dash of the children to the west end of the plaza has already been mentioned. Another one is the audience response after each performance of the Leonard's Ballet School. Mr. Leonard, a much liked man in his early sixties who nonetheless took an active part in the performances would shout "Ole!" to the crowd, and they responded in like manner. This sometimes went on for several minutes depending on the size, composition, and enthusiasm of the assembled onlookers. A tourist once queried me, "Did he say holy?"

Now I will turn to the order of action through the four days. On the first day, Wednesday, the fiesta is opened in the early evening with a ribbon cutting ceremony. A procession which includes the Royal Family, the mayor and other town dignitaries, and ranking Jaycees enters from the northwest corner of the plaza, the symbolic gateway to the fiesta, and progresses to the main stage. After introductions and short speeches ending with the mayor's speech he (or she) cuts the ribbon. Thus symbolic time and space are dedicated to the temporary fiesta world.

Very few people are around at opening time, nor for the Wednesday evening festivities for that matter. Tourists appear to be in greater abundance on Wednesday nights, possibly a misperception due to the small local attendance.

The program for the first night is an abbreviation of that of the following three nights, with some exceptions. Of the two dance school presentations, that of the Leonards and the Sally Walton dancers, only the latter appears that night. There is much rivalry, not always good natured, between these two dance schools. As previously noted the Sally Walton Dancers are closely tied in with the Royal Family and the Easter Festival. The Leonard School, new in town in the 1970s, features classical ballet and attracts an upwardly mobile clientele. We have another example here of the cleavage between the indigenous Hispanic-Catholic group and the Anglo-Protestant group, between locals and newcomers. A careful balance is maintained in the fiesta scheduling so that the Leonard's absence on the Wednesday night schedule is compensated by their favored position right before the cake cutting ceremony on Saturday night.

Thursday night the crowd begins to pick up in numbers and enthusiasm, and by Friday night the fiesta is in full swing. Since Friday is payday for many of the local laboring men, they arrive with their families with money in their pockets. This is truly local night. Country people frequent the affair that night and the traffic around the

plaza moves slowly. Patronage is heavy at the beer keg set up outside the St. George Tavern a block away from the plaza. In earlier years the Jaycees sold beer at their concession on the plaza, calling it "Fiesta Punch," but there were objections, so the practice was discontinued.

Although the cake-cutting ceremony on Saturday night is intended to be the climax of the fiesta, the highest attendance is instead around 8:00 P.M. on Friday night. In 1980 an estimated 1,200 people were in the plaza at that time on Friday night while that same year only around 800 attended the cake cutting ceremony on Saturday night.

On Friday nights, although equal in numbers to the other nights of the fiesta, tourists seem much less in evidence. Because of the masses of local people, visitors are slowed in their progress through the plaza. The crowds are jostled by the heedless children racing west at the sword fight gun signal. A happy conviviality reigns.

Saturday night brings a more affluent crowd of local people, although many who might attend the fiesta are on vacation at that time of year. The cake cutting is the main attraction. The stage is filled with about fifty local dignitaries. These are with a few exceptions the same people as those to be found in the Easter Festival reviewing stand. Arrayed in front of the stage is an enormous cake, actually a number of cakes baked by local garden club members and then unified by frosting, forming a large sheet

cake. The cake in earlier years was in the shape of the fort but by 1980 a replica of the fort was placed on top. That year as in former fiestas "Happy Birthday St. Augustine 415 years old" was written in large letters across the front of the cake.

Following a number of speeches and thank-yous for participation, drawings are held for various items, usually bicycles, the tickets for which have been on sale throughout the fiesta. Next a "citizen of the year" is honored, in later years expanded to two or three honorees. Their biographies are recited and contributions to the town extolled. The cake and its history is described and the crowd is invited to partake of the birthday cake. Tourists as a group are singled out and admonished, "We invite you to please join with us in celebrating St. Augustine's birthday." The candles are lit and the cake cut with a sword, usually by the mayor. The queen and princess of the Royal Family and the Jaycee wives then serve the cake, first to the dignitaries on the stage and then to the crowd.

This cake cutting and communal eating is symbolic on a number of levels. The initial cut with the sword carries the masculine, aggressive theme of the fiesta. The cake is fed to the participants in ceremonial status order, much as the fromajardis is distributed in the Fromajardis ceremony. The ritual of eating from the long table draped in white recalls the ritual end of Carnival in early St. Augustine.

The cake itself is the unity of small cakes, much as the town is a unity of conflicting groups and the fiesta itself is the unity of town and visitors.

After the distribution of the cake, a short fireworks display signals the end of the fiesta. Thus the end of summer, the end of the tourist season are marked while the beginning of school and another year of St. Augustine's colorful history are initiated.

Days in Spain: Five Years Later

Within five years a dramatic change had taken place in Days in Spain. After the 1987 fiesta a citizen lamented:

I recently attended the birthday celebration of our nation's oldest city. This annual fiesta has become hardly worth the effort put forth by the dozen or so participants trying to hang on to a vital part of our heritage. It leaves me with little hope that the citizens of our community have let this extraordinary tradition die so shamefully. Fifteen to 20 years ago it was difficult to come up with a new booth idea because the fiesta had it all. Almost every school and civic organization was represented. Strolling around the crowded streets you saw friends you hadn't seen all year. It's sad to see our local school Halloween carnival outshine something as important as our fiesta. Please let's rekindle the spirit before it's gone completely. [St. Augustine Record, August 22, 1987]

That the fiesta is declining in participants and attendance is obvious. From a high of fifty booths in the middle seventies, the number had declined to twenty-four in 1986, decreasing even lower to sixteen in 1987. The Womans Exchange appears to have begun the exodus with that booth not appearing again after 1979. Moreover, the trend has

been toward more commercial booths and less booths of community associations and nonprofit organizations, a factor which led city authorities in 1987 to threaten removal of the event from the plaza.

Attendance has likewise declined dramatically, to approximately one third, or less at times, of the former numbers. Only 350 or 400 people attended the cake cutting in 1987. Friday night the plaza was no longer packed with local people as in former days. At other times a mere handful could be found in the plaza. Parking places were even available around the plaza, and crowd dodging on the walkways was just a memory. Only one stage was active, the refurbished gazebo, bravely decorated with the flags which have flown over St. Augustine. The fiesta had become a tarnished lady.

This unfortunate state of affairs existed even though some strong corrective measures had been taken. The fiesta had been shortened to three days and moved to the weekend to improve regional and local attendance. Professional entertainment had been added in the form of the Spanish Lyric Theater from Tampa whose stirring renditions and polished performances added a new and different note. Conversely, many local groups such as the Leonards were no longer performing. Those scheduled on the program, sometimes failed to show up for their performances.

The Spanish-French sword fights had been eliminated and in their stead were several reenactments. A 16th century stylized attack exhibition was staged several times during the fiesta. Secondly, in the early evening on the first two nights a playlet was given showing a problem which might have happened in the town. In the 1986 fiesta an early Spanish governor was depicted who faced the wrenching dilemma of a daughter who had fallen in love with a neer-do-well. In the resulting fracas a street fight occurred in which the would be suitor was wounded and eventually banished to the "dungeon." The change in theme from repelling outsiders in the sword fight drama to maintaining social status rankings in the community in the newer production may have a great deal to tell us about changes in the modern St. Augustine community.

Both of these new additions to the fiesta were presented by "the Men of Menéndez," a group formed from some of the reenactment groups in town plus players from Cross and Sword and a sprinkling of Jaycees. According to the fiesta chairman, this group presents authentic reenactments only, and for purposes of historical accuracy the Spanish-French sword fights have been discontinued.

Two other non-recurring events have also been added. On Saturday, a reenactment of the 1586 invasion of St. Augustine by Sir Francis Drake is staged. Then on Sunday

the grand finale of the fiesta is a "pyrotechnic display" of the blowing up of Fort San Juan by Drake.

The Drake landing which takes place from a schooner anchored in the bay and the subsequent skirmish on the bay front does not draw a large audience. In 1986 it did not occur on time, and some of the onlookers lost interest and left. Conversely, in 1987 the boats landed ahead of the scheduled time and by the time that much of the audience had arrived, the only activity consisted in the broadsides being fired from the anchored schooner.

Crowds lined the bayfront for the fort burning finale, much as for the Fourth of July fireworks. Apparently this finale was the only part of the fiesta attended by many local people. The drama was started on the bay side near the fort with several little dramas including musket firing on the bayfront and an altercation between Spanish soldiers and Drake's men. The burning of the fort, although partially an optical illusion, was cleverly combined with the fireworks to simulate a dramatic buildup and final explosion, so dramatic, in fact, that the crowd collectively drew in its breath in disbelief.

We see in these added events a significant symbolic change. The "outsider heretics"--now the English pirates--are allowed to win over the Spanish, an outcome reversal of the usual Spanish win in the old Jaycee Spanish-French sword fights. However, part of the reason for the addition of the

Drake sequence is an attempt on the part of the fiesta organizers to claim lineal descent of Days in Spain from the Ponce de Leon Celebration. The Drake attack and landing, it will be remembered, was one of the dramas in the older event.

There are other evidences of attempts to create this continuity. Sally Walton in introducing her dance troupe in their program of "Fiesta Fever" tells the audience that the fiesta is a tradition in her family since five generations have participated in the Days in Spain and its predecessor, the Ponce de Leon celebration. In addition to the luster added by invoking a successful festival ancestor, further legitimization is secured by attempting accurate historical enactments. Such authentic displays have paid off in good attendance at events such as the Grand Illumination.

It remains to examine why in spite of attempts to revitalize the fiesta, it appears to be disintegrating. Local folks when asked give several reasons--the constant problems with being rained out, the high cost of booth rental (\$75), new health regulations requiring that food sold in public must be cooked in inspected kitchens, the fact that Sunday is bad for the final day because people are accustomed to attending church, the passage of an ordinance banning public drinking, and less tourism at the end of August because of earlier school starting dates up north. In one recent year after Days in Spain was already on the

published state calendar of festival events, the Jaycees abruptly rescheduled the fiesta to another weekend. This may have affected tourist attendance, particularly the tour bus traffic.

More compelling explanations for the ailing celebration are found, however. As St. Augustine charged into urban development and expansion in the 1980s, the tempo and contours of the town were irreversibly altered. Community life no longer centered on the plaza in the center of town as it had for centuries. "Going to town," except for those who work there, is no longer the common experience for local people. Consequently, with the town rapidly becoming foreign territory for locals, those events with a large community participation have suffered a severe loss of patronage. Days in Spain has suffered most of all. Moreover, the belief of the organizers that the fiesta was a tourist attractant seems to have complicated matters, since even the addition of more sophisticated historical renderings failed to entice the expected attendance. Local people have moved elsewhere for their celebrations, and no additional tourists have been added.

Not surprising, another carnival, held in local territory and under local auspices, has emerged. The weekend before Days in Spain the Cathedral Parish Schools now sponsor a very successful carnival, siphoning off much of the local participation at Days in Spain. In a kind of

oblique continuity the temporary booth community of the old fiesta has simply moved elsewhere. Several booth sponsors tried to maintain booths at both affairs, but found that they were "burned out" with such volunteer activity for two weekends in a row. Commercially they did better at the church sponsored carnival, so the choice was clear.

The vitality once inherent in a small, closely interacting local community is being transferred gradually to various institutions within that community. Sponsorship of public events is evidence of that trend. The community becomes a much more loosely connected constellation of institutions, and the staging of large scale community-wide celebrations is problematical.

Declining membership in the St. Augustine Jaycee organization has also played a part in the crumbling of the fiesta. At one time the common pattern was for a young man, either newly moved into town or from a mid-level, or below, local family, was to join the Jaycees as a means of launching himself on the local business scene. By his and his family's involvement in such projects as Days in Spain, the Fourth of July celebration, beauty contests and the like he demonstrated his abilities, his substance as a good citizen and family man, through boosting the town. As Hatch (1979) has demonstrated, community service was a respected pathway up in the traditional American local community, a way to garner the esteem of the local group. Part of that

community service was taking a leadership role in planning and implementing community celebrations.

St. Augustine now is a part of a larger network of outside forces, even, some say a sub-unit of urban Jacksonville. Upwardly mobile young men are now likely to bypass the Jaycees and join the Chamber of Commerce to gain a foothold in the town. The Chamber is a much more representative mix. Others bypass local organizations completely, finding the Jacksonville development scene more profitable.

An example will illustrate the change. A local businessman was president of the Jaycees in the late 1970s and for two years chairman of the Days in Spain. Evidently he glimpsed the future of the fiesta before the public became aware of it. He told the Board of County Commissioners as he was asking for an increase in funds in 1979 that "the Jaycees feel Days in Spain has stagnated almost to the point the group is ashamed of it" (St. Augustine Record, August 24, 1979). This businessman is now in a number of other activities. He is the current President of the the Board of Directors of the Ancient City Arts Alliance. The Arts Alliance is a relatively new organization. Its avowed purpose of promoting arts and culture in St. Augustine does not tell the entire story since it actually has a good deal of economic power in the community. "THE ARTS ALLIANCE [caps theirs]," states the

blurb on the program for their 1988 Annual Scholarship Ball, "also serves the cultural community by reviewing grants applications and making funding recommendations to the Tourist Development Council and the Board of Commissioners [St. Johns County] for cultural grants awarded through the St. Johns County Tourist Development Trust Fund." Pictured in the career of the businessman described above, we can see the drift in action arenas in the community.

The September 8th Birthday Celebration

Although Days in Spain is referred to as the "official birthday" for the oldest city, a ceremony takes place about three weeks later on the actual anniversary of the landing and first mass. Taking place at Mission Nombre de Dios/La Leche Shrine, it is sponsored jointly by the city and the Catholic Church. This commemoration has more of a sacred, solemn, character than any other public community event in the town. The dignity and decorum attendant on the September 8th event is a consequence of the Church's involvement as well as the fact that it partakes of the significance of the exact birthday.

Commemoration as a form has assumed a salience in American life once reserved for seasonal markers. Harris (1987:1) concludes that in a postindustrial society such as that of the United States, commemoration "becomes the fundamental vehicle through which to re-unite us with our collective origins as a polity." Local commemorations serve

this purpose as do national commemorations such as the Fourth of July.

Although at least once the September 8th commemoration was the end point of a church pilgrimage, usually no attempt is made to attract outsiders. Explaining the nature of the observance, the city clerk told a reporter that "today's ceremony is for the locals" (The Florida Times Union, September 8, 1987). Attendance has never been large, but the numbers increase each year, augmented in later years by Catholic retirees moving to town. Always present are classes from the Catholic elementary schools.

Dual eventing as exemplified by Days in Spain and the Birthday Commemoration at the Shrine, one to attract tourists and the other for the indigenous community, are common in tourist areas. Thus an International Eisteddfod is held for tourists every year in Wales while the "real Eisteddfod" as it is called by the Welsh, is held later in the summer. The use of the Welsh language insures exclusivity at the latter. The Welsh also separate their intense local social season in the period from Christmas to Easter from the loosely organized eventing in the summer months when they are busy with the crops and with tourism. Other examples can be given. Jordan (1980) describes the "sugaring off" demonstrations presented in the summer in Vermont which contrast with the real maple sugar celebrations held in March when tourists are not present.

Smith (1975) tells of a small festival held just for the local inhabitants of Otuzco several weeks after the grand annual Patron Saint Festival which draws many visitors from the outside. Hence two community celebrations with the same content, one facing outward to the larger world and the other facing inward to the center of community life, round out the meaning of that content in the changing stream of community life.

The local events, often mirror images of their larger counterparts, serve as rites of intensification for local constituencies. They are usually more serious in nature, even sacred as in the present instance. They act as a consolidation forum for the community as new seasons and issues are faced, a time for assessment and reflection and, perhaps, expression of an exuberant oneness.

The September birthday has certain core events including the mayor's proclamation, the introduction of dignitaries and keynote speeches, a mock landing of Menéndez and his men who walk in procession to the altar where they are greeted by ranking Catholic clergy (in some years this is the bishop), followed by a mass, including an extended homily. The mass is in the outline of the one in use in 1565. Essentially the whole event is an outdoor religious observance with a program and pageant wrapped around it.

The setting is impressive. A rough outdoor altar is placed at the northeast corner of the mission grounds near

the water and hard by the little chapel containing the statue of Nuestra Señora de la Leche y Buen Parto (Our Nursing Mother of Happy Delivery). Under the towering chapel of trees, chairs are set up among the moss covered grave stones of the old cemetery. Priests and nuns were buried there until the early part of this century. Before the ceremony begins, people speak to each other in hushed tones as though they were in church.

At one time the secular parts of this event took place several hundred yards away, and included a drama put on by the Cross and Sword actors. At that time the ceremony began when a procession including the clergy, the Knights of Columbus, the Royal Family, and local dignitaries walked from the city gate to the Shrine, a distance of six blocks. This symbolic trek from gate to shrine is perhaps best understood by the following quote from a Catholic treatise called Saints of the Americas (Habig 1974:317): "The old city gate is still standing. It was called Puerta de la Leche, not as an entrance into the town, but as an exit from the town to the shrine of our Lady." This religious reversal of the usual military and civil interpretation of the gate as a passageway into the town is an interesting spatial reconfiguration. Nevertheless, in spite of its ritual linking of town and mission, the extended procession was discontinued after several years because of the

increased traffic in the town and the heat at that time of year.

The expansion and contraction of this ceremony in different years appears to be random and related more to the planners involved than it is representative of any long term trends. However, several years ago expanding the "birthday" into a large scale commemoration was talked of, but the Church desires to keep the ritual sacred and dignified.

In the religious part of the ritual, especially in the homily, much is made of the date being the birthday of the Virgin Mary as well as that of the town. Her virtues are extolled and her guardianship of the sacred grounds and of the town are reaffirmed. Since 1987 was a Marian Year more emphasis was given her birthday than usual, even at the expense of not spotlighting the Pope's impending visit to Florida later in the month.

The story of the Virgin, Nuestra Senora de la Leche y Buen Parto, whose presence graces the little chapel, is instructive here. The veneration of this particular Virgin came into prominence in the Old World in the late sixteenth century, soon after the founding of St. Augustine. According to one account (Habig 1974:315): "A devout couple rescued a statue having this title from irreverent hands and gave it the place of honor in their home. Some time later, when the mother and her unborn child were in almost certain danger of death, the father appealed to Nuestra Senora de

Buen Parto. Our Lady heard his prayer in a remarkable way, and granted his wife a happy delivery." The couple then propagated the devotion to others.

The first representation of this Virgin was brought to St. Augustine some fifty years after the veneration came into prominence in Spain. It was a replica of the one in the original Shrine built by King Philip III in Madrid. The area where Menéndez first landed had by that time become an Indian mission, and the statue was installed in a small chapel. The chapel and all it contained was destroyed in 1728 when some English settlers from South Carolina staged a raid on Spanish St. Augustine. According to legend, however, poetic justice was served. Colonel John Palmer who led the raid is supposed to have thrown to the ground the figure of the baby Jesus, which had rested in the Virgin's arms. Palmer is said to have died on that very same spot eight years later. Historic documents, however, fix his death at Ft. Mose, some two miles away to the north, at the time of the siege of the town by James Oglethorpe which took place twelve years after the Palmer raid (Topping 1978:xxxix-xl).

The present statue of the Virgin is an exact replica of the original, but was not put there until the present chapel was built in 1925. All of the calamities which have befallen this Virgin and the chapel in which she is housed cannot be detailed here. Essentially, the story of the

little chapel and its Virgin encapsulates the tale of ravages which the town itself has suffered, leading, in both instances, to survival, or failing that, to reconstitution.

A surprising addition to the usual founding and birthday themes was included in the homily in 1987. A Fr. Martinez was honored, a Jesuit originally slated to come with Menéndez to St. Augustine, but who followed later at great personal sacrifice to become a missionary and martyr in the area near present-day Jacksonville. Such linking by remote clerical tie presages the rapidly closing interstice between the two communities today. Some members of the audience saw in this something more mundane. "Are they trying to tie him up with Governor Martinez?" was the question asked. The present Governor of Florida, Republican Bob Martinez, is the first governor since the Spanish domain to carry a Hispanic surname. Recognizing the symbolism in this the Arts Alliance Ball in 1988 was designated "Menéndez to Martinez." The governor's name and the currently increasing Hispanization of Florida, particularly in South Florida, has led to a joking reference to the present era as "The Third Spanish Period."

#### Menéndez Birthday

The Menéndez birthday celebration on February 15th each year has more to do with patriotism and ambivalent loyalties than it does with commercial or religious issues. It is sponsored by the City of St. Augustine in cooperation with

the St. Augustine Historic Preservation Board. It is held around the Menéndez statue in the park in front of City Hall which is housed in what was once the Alcazar Hotel.

The 1981 festival was typical. It was a cool, cloudy day and the audience of eighty or ninety was not much larger than the group of fifty some dignitaries who walked in procession from within the Alcazar patio to the seats reserved for them near the statue. An audience watching another audience of dignitaries who in turn watch a program is reminiscent of the format of some of the Royal Family appearances in the Easter Festival. The roster of dignitaries included former mayors, key city, county, and state political figures of the present; visiting Spanish or sister city dignitaries; the Royal Family; and significant members of the historical and preservation community. The city was ready to demonstrate itself as a polity.

The master of ceremonies, that year the general manager of the St. Augustine Record, welcomed everyone and noted that he had kept away the rain. Let us pause here to mention the myth frequently expressed at ceremonial events in St. Augustine, that miraculously it does not rain. In actuality if a list were to be compiled of events disrupted by bad weather it would be extensive. One year during the Ponce de Leon Celebration a specially built "Spanish bark" was destroyed by a violent thunderstorm, and it took heroic efforts on the part of the townspeople to construct a new

one in time for the landing ceremony. Once in its history the Blessing of the Fleet was rained out, and one year Days in Spain also had to be terminated and rescheduled for the following weekend because of continual deluges. In 1987 the fireworks display had to be moved to July fifth, after nature staged her own fireworks display on the Fourth of July. Sometimes the newspaper will report a miraculous clearing of the skies right before an event, the implication being that the town is especially blessed.

After a Catholic invocation and a welcome and proclamation by the mayor, the high school band played a John Philip Sousa march, followed by a short drama offering by the St. George Street players, serious this time. The main address emphasized the valiant qualities of the town's founder, especially noting that he was born in the month of United States presidents. Gracefully, as always in this event, the best of Spanish and American values are blended. One year, in 1977, the speaker compared Menéndez and George Washington as magnificent leaders of their people emphasizing that St. Augustine could be proud of both. The fearless colonial enterprise is stressed, the making of civilization out of a wilderness.

Next a singer gave a rendition of Man of La Mancha while she and an assistant mimed the parts with masks which they held up before their faces. In introducing her the master of ceremonies mentioned that it was her birthday too,

and when she finished he wished her "Happy Birthday,  
Joanie."

The high point of the event was the presentation of the Order of La Florida, the highest honor awarded by the City of St. Augustine. In 1981 the recipient was a prominent businessman and ex-mayor who had more recently been chairman of the Preservation Board. The award honors a citizen each year who has contributed to the Spanish heritage of the town. Usually a scholar or someone of the Coquina Ethic group is the recipient, and the award carries considerably more prestige than a knighting by the Royal Family or the Days in Spain Citizen award.

The ceremony ended as the mayor and the main speaker joined to lay a wreath at the foot of the Menéndez statue. The conclusion was a benediction, this time by a Protestant minister, followed by a postlude from the band.

During the program it was very hard to hear what was going on. It was noisy all around the square with the trailer train loudspeakers blaring and the usual mid-morning traffic. A man and his sons played a noisy game of ball at the edge of the crowd, and was angered when the proprietor of the St. George Street Players quieted him. He grabbed the ball, gathered up his children, and left. By the end of the program most of the spectators had drifted away.

"

Recently Added Birthdays

The three birthday celebrations above have been a part of the ceremonial calendar for some time. New birthday commemorations have been added in the last few years.

Several years ago at the instigation of some St. Augustine citizens "Queen Isabella Day" on April 22nd was proclaimed by the Governor of Florida and has continued to be observed. Each year on the birthday of the Spanish Queen a small group gathers to honor her by laying a wreath at the base of her statue in the Spanish Gardens on St. George Street in the restored area. The bronze statue of the Queen depicts her on a mule riding about to give the concept of national unity to the people of Spain. The sponsors of this event are not usually of old St. Augustine families, but instead are individuals and groups interested in Spain's history and culture.

At first glance Queen Isabella Day may seem a supernumerary in the festival calendar, but a closer look reveals a coherence with, and expression of, that which is St. Augustine. The Spanish element, the nearness of this day to Easter, and the featuring of a woman's birthday fit with complex of ritual life taking place in the town in Spring. The lowly mount and the peasant attire project the contradictory qualities of royal but still humble and democratic, not out of line with the message conveyed by other themes in St. Augustine. Likewise, the unification

theme has relevance in the diversity of this modern, New World community.

Martin Luther King's birthday in mid-January has been celebrated in the black community since 1985 when it was declared a state holiday. The reenactment performed on that occasion will be discussed in Chapter VI as part of the discussion on black festival life. What is interesting to look at here is that the birthday falls at the time of year when, myth would have it, great men are born. One local white leader was quoted in the newspaper as saying that he did not understand why a holiday was dedicated to that particular man when there were other famous people who deserved the honor, men like Robert E. Lee for instance. Actually that particular Confederate General's birthday was celebrated in St. Augustine on January 19th until recent decades. As late as the 1960s, that day found banks and some businesses closed. The Martin Luther King Birthday in mid-January may seem to old timers in the white community like a symbolic reversal of the old way of ordering community life.

Another recently added celebration, while not a birthday, is the honoring of St. Photios on his feastday, February 6th. He is the patron saint of the Greek Orthodox National Shrine on St. George Street. The event attracts the faithful from other areas of the country and the Archbishop is often in attendance as well as other Church

dignitaries. One of the claims to fame of this saint is the fight that he led on behalf of the Eastern Church against Roman Catholicism. Within this decade Greek themes have also been added to other areas of ritual life in St. Augustine, notably participation in Minorcan Day discussed in Chapter IV and Greek Landing Day to be discussed in the next chapter.

#### Concluding Remarks

We have looked in some depth at three ceremonies with birthday as the theme. Each in its own way displays the core myth of St. Augustine, that of the town's image as the "oldest city" in the United States. Just as an elderly person achieves increased status with each birthday reached after one hundred years, so the "oldest" becomes older with each birthday, putting it always further out of reach of other contenders who might lay claim to being the oldest. As a speaker said at the Shrine ceremony several years ago, "We can't say that we have the most people, the deepest harbor, the most flourishing industrial complex. There are many things that we can't say, but there is one thing that we can say, and nobody can dispute it, that we are the oldest city in the United States."

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés is the quasi-saint in this founding myth, the founding father who gained special acclaim for having caused the celebration of the first mass in what is now the continental United States, although

actually there is some dispute among Church historians on this point. The first mass, as well as marking the beginning of the town, gained extra sanctity by coinciding with the Virgin's birthday. Note, too, that the particular icon of the Virgin of the shrine is that of birth--thus, "our mother of happy delivery."

Days in Spain although it contains aspects of the ritual beginnings by the sharing of the cake, highlights another feature of the founding myth, of a town born out of chaos and bloodshed, out of heroic masculinity. It is clearly the sword part of the cross and sword symbolism. Certain unpleasant parts of the actual story, unpalatable to modern Americans, are omitted, particularly the early massacre of French troops by the Spanish soldiery. Although this dramatic event is well documented and most residents know that the Matanzas River takes its name from massacre, no specific reenactment ever occurs in a ceremonial context in the town. The bloody vanquishment is implied in the Cross and Sword play and obliquely in the French being led off the stage after the Days in Spain sword fight, but a mass beheading amid cries of "infidel" is not even suggested. In the case of the fiesta, the fight is all in fun, to the extent that in a display of American fair play the French are even allowed to win. The French are often described as "pirates" instead of as the competing colonizers which they actually were. No mention is ever

made that the town's founder was the leader of a bloody massacre.

Ignoring an incident in American history of this dramatic magnitude can hardly be an oversight. It goes deeper than the now passé Black Legend, that is, the revulsion of Anglo-Protestants for Spanish-Catholics who killed nonbelievers, and has more to do with the prevailing division in present day St. Augustine. As earlier described, the cleavage between the Hispanic-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant runs deep in community life. The town was born from, and its history is rife with, a shifting balance between the two groups. In later times the Drake raid, the Oglethorpe attack, and the Patriot rebellion, to name a few in the long and colorful history of the town, substituted the English and then the Americans for the original French adversary. In a sense the town is being reborn again and again through these conflicts, nor is it over. Animosities surfaced at the time of the U.S. Bicentennial when Anglo elements emphasized the English and Anglo Saxon heritage over the traditional Spanish presentation of the town's history. Even members of the Coquina Ethic group are not immune to choosing sides based on area of expertise.

St. Augustine is not unique in the revision of its historical past in public presentations. An apt parallel is found in the Entrada Pageant, part of the fiesta reenacting the founding of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Grimes (1982:277)

mentions that "what is not dramatized in the pageant is De Vargas's Journal account of how he cut off the water supply and had to lead a bloody reconquest a year later."

Significant omissions of this sort are part of what Grimes (1982:274) refers to as "superstructuring a celebration" which "means magnifying and turning a culture's good, virtuous, proper side to public view." It is, in other words, the invention of tradition.

The Menéndez birthday celebration in particular honors the Hispanic heritage while affirming American patriotism, thus temporarily resolving through ritual a continuing strain in modern community life. Each of the birthday celebrations says again to the world that the town is proud of its Spanish heritage, but proud to be an all American town and proud moreover, to be the oldest.

Aside from resolving continuing strains at a deeper level in the town, the birthday events have other social consequences. Notwithstanding some overlapping, Days in Spain has to do with the economic life of the town, the celebration of the actual birthday at the Mission is in the religious interest of the community, and the Menéndez birthday is largely political and scholarly. The Days in Spain organizers hope that it will attract tourists to the town and secondarily, fill the coffers of local civic organizations. The landing and mass at the Mission serves to commemorate the town's founding for local people, a

marker of both the past and the future while at the same time, it is hoped, attracting national attention to a little known Catholic shrine. The Menéndez birthday in addition to resolving some paradoxical elements of the community also serves to bring national and international Hispanic interests into the town by emphasizing the town's heritage and place in the colonial world. That St. Augustine is not always successful in gaining this recognition was pointed up by the recent removal of the Spanish Tourist Bureau from St. Augustine to Miami.

The object of these birthday fetes is similar to what Geertz (1973:448) tells us about the Balinese cockfight which he closely examined: "It is a Balinese reading of Balinese experience, a story they tell themselves about themselves." The very reiteration carries its own kind of truth. St. Augustinians know that they live in the "oldest city," but who can resist hearing it again.

When parts of the same blend of mythical and real history are celebrated in St. Augustine at different times of the year, the story enacted tends to blend with the seasonal circumstances. Of these three birthday celebrations the February birthday presages the spring tourist season, the Days in Spain Fiesta ends the summer tourist season, and the "real birthday" initiates a relatively tourist free period in the yearly calendar.

The other recently added birthday fetes bring to the fore blacks and women. The honoring of the feast day of a Greek saint gives credence to yet another religion competing for a special place of sanctity in the community.

In the next chapter we will turn to the two Illuminations, one English, the other Spanish, an event twining not along the tourist-local dimension, or the cross and sword opposition, but along the internal moiety lines of the town. Other significant celebrations will complete the picture of a town whose unity rests in the hyperbole of festival.

CHAPTER VI  
THE GRAND ILLUMINATIONS AND OTHER CONVIVIAL EVENTS

Since 1565 St. Augustine has been a bone of contention for those who would make it over into their own images.

Jack D. Hunter, February, 1983

Almost every weekend one can attend a public event in St. Augustine. The city is one where long time celebrations roll around each year in constant procession. Likewise, new affairs are experimented with each year. It is not uncommon for the "First Annual" to become the "Last Annual." The yearly cycle is further augmented by one-time commemorations honoring a change of flags or other significant happenings in the town's history. For example, the late 1980s marks a flurry of centennial commemorations of Flagler's empire building in the town. Plans for the 1992 Columbian quincentennial are already in the offing. A long series of dignitaries visits the town, always necessitating a fete of some kind. The period of this research has seen visits of Princes of Spain and Thailand, several descendants of Menéndez, the Spanish Ambassador, a couple of state governors, Roman Catholic cardinals and bishops and the archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church, not to speak of the visits of figures from throughout the world who are prominent in historic preservation.

Out of the potpourri of St. Augustine festival occasions several will be brought forward in this chapter to illustrate the features coming to the fore in our discussion. These strands will include the dualism of community structure as demonstrated by the two Illuminations; the movement of celebrations from town center to peripheral space; the continuity of the market phenomenon even under the push of new community factions; the emerging maritime theme; the significant celebration of certain constituencies--the black community and the "crackers;" and the Fourth of July, an American celebration against the backdrop of an old Spanish town. These are presented to draw together some of the elements already mentioned as well as to include in the mosaic several of the missing pieces.

Figure 11 is a graphic presentation of the prominent festivals of today. The National Park Service figures for visits to the fort on a monthly basis for a typical recent year provide an idea of volume of tourism at the time of year each festival is staged. It will, of course, be realized that in certain instances, such as the Easter Festival and the Fourth of July, the festival itself brings visitors to the community. Conversely, events are initiated to amplify tourism at slow times of the year.

#### Why Two Illuminations?

The two illuminations--the December event celebrating Anglo heritage and the Spanish Nightwatch held in the summer

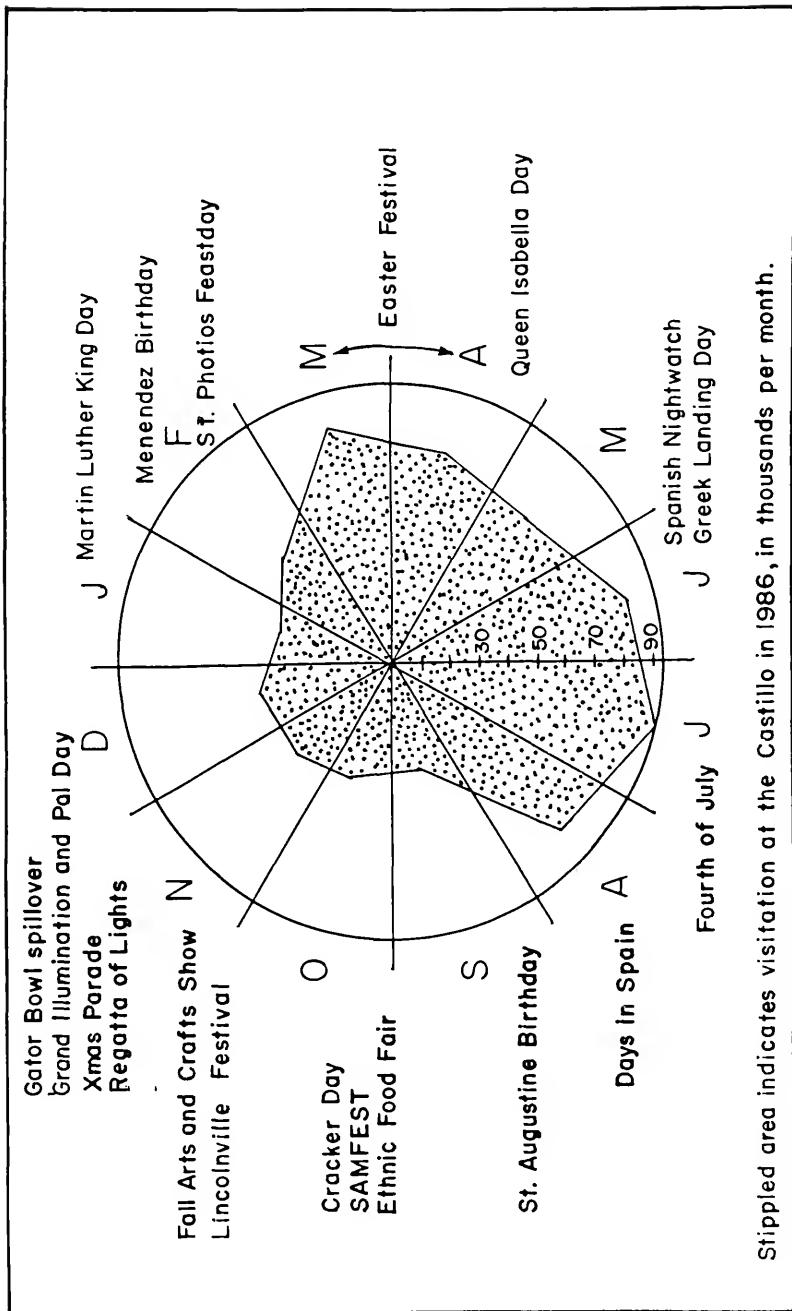


Figure 11. Annual Festival Cycle

to highlight Hispanic heritage--are staged to attract tourists. Taken as opposing elements they replicate the dual nature of the St. Augustine community as neatly as does the Spanish and French sword fight, the Drake invasion, the enclosure of most St. Augustine events by Catholic and Anglo prayers, and of course, by the flags and music and other symbols. The difference here is that the dualism is not in one event but is bifurcated into separate celebrations in different seasons of the year.

The form of these events is nearly the same, not surprising since the Spanish Nightwatch was copied from the successful Grand Illumination Ceremony. The content is at some variance for the Spanish are very Spanish and the English are very English. The presentation of national character in both instances follows general American stereotypes, shaded nonetheless by local mythology and dearly held community values.

The similarity of the two Illumination ceremonies as they are presented today in St. Augustine is not without historical credential. The grounding of both is in the same general European military tradition. The troops of different nationalities occupying the town at various times in the past, while different in many ways, followed common patterns. In fact, this military thread is the one constant through the centuries of the community's history. Some of the same daily military protocol was observed in the

Spanish, English, and American regimes. The coherence of the community, past and present, is exemplified by the military form. The configuration thus personified in ceremonial mode dilutes the Hispanic-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant contention for cultural ascendancy. The Grand Illumination featuring the English occupation of the town has already had extensive description in Chapter II. In the following section the Spanish Nightwatch and Illumination will provide a contrast.

The Spanish Nightwatch and Illumination

In comparison with the restrained invitation to the Grand Illumination honoring the English occupation of the town, an advance notice of the Spanish Nightwatch reads:

TAKE NOTICE

This is to Proclaim to the most loyal vassals of Florida

A GRAND ILLUMINATION

Of this presidio of San Agustin to be held on Saturday Evening, June the Twenty First at 8 o'clock Commencing from the Plaza thence to the Castillo and City gate. Loyal Subjects of his most Catholic Majesty and Troops are asked to Partake of this Merriment, Bearing candles and Lanterns to Illuminate their way. A Volley of Joy with Music and Good Company to Celebrate this Day will be Followed by Great Merriment at the Completion of this Grand Event at the Governor's House. By Order of his loyal and most Catholic servant Don Manuel de Montiano

The logo at the bottom of this announcement shows the Spanish crest surmounted with a crown set against a bristling ground of weapons of war.

The ribald good cheer in the proclamation is amplified by the depiction of the Nightwatch handed out in 1980 (see figure 12). This facetious cartoon shows the Spaniard in his "wicked" but comical play mode. In the scene of masculine ribaldry the candle becomes a drumstick, and drunkenness is evident in the frothing mug and the cast away bottles. The only contrast with the 'happy aggression' is the frightened bird in imminent danger of having its feathers singed by a man lighting his cigar with a torch. Otherwise war and enjoyment are here humorized, blended.

As common with festivals in the town, various calendar dates were tried before fixation in the present position on the third weekend in June. Earlier, it had been discovered that it was a poor fit with the the very Anglo-American Fourth of July. Now as a beginning for the summer tourist season it also has become part of a weekend when local reenactment groups host like groups from along the Atlantic seaboard. Tents are set up in the back yards of the restored area, visiting reenactors wear clothes authentic for the theme of their group, and participants eat food typical of the 18th century, cooked over open fires. The Spanish Nightwatch is the high point of the weekend.

More recently the weekend has incorporated Greek Landing Day, the celebration of the first landfall of Greek settlers in America. These are the Greeks of the New Smyrna colony who landed along with the other colonists in St.



Figure 12. Spanish Nightwatch Illustration  
(Courtesy of the artist, Frank Suddeth)

Augustine before continuing down the coast to the plantation in New Smyrna. In 1986 a newspaper article (St. Augustine Record, June 20, 1986) announced that, "Saturday is Festival Day in St. Augustine with visitors and local residents welcome to become a Greek for a day at the annual Greek Landing Day festival or to step back into the 18th century during Spanish Nightwatch activities." The Greek event was at first freestanding but in customary St. Augustine fashion was later attached to another event.

A new feature was added in this Greek event, or rather a transformation of several preexisting elements in St. Augustine events. A relay run by young Greek torchbearers is initiated in New Smyrna and ends in St. Augustine at the Greek Shrine. The run commemorates the exodus of the Minorcan colony from New Smyrna, and the long painful trek seventy miles to seek refuge in St. Augustine. The Greeks reenacting this march are not themselves descendants of families in the New Smyrna Colony. With a few exceptions, most of those Greeks were felled by malaria before removal to St. Augustine (Griffin 1977). Using the story of the Greeks in New Smyrna as the first documented Greek colonists in North America, the Greek Orthodox Church in 1982 converted a house in the restored area in St. Augustine into a national Greek shrine. St. Augustine thus has symbolic significance for Greek Americans.

Ritual torchbearing is, of course, a part of the beginning of many Greek commemorative as well as competitive events (witness the survival of this in Olympic events). It is also in St. Augustine a counterpart of the torches in the Illumination ceremonies.

We see a parallel here with the festive day in December. Whereas the English event opens with the Christmas parade progressing from north to south and is closed with the Illumination procession; in the Spanish-Mediterranean event the "procession" runs from south to north to open the day, and the Nightwatch closes the festivities. Just as the December ceremony allows Santa and the military "Pals" to enter from the north to enjoy seasonal sanctuary in the town, the torch run from the south commemorates the sanctuary granted the eighteenth century settlers. Each represents the theme of St. Augustine as a place of safety, an asylum from evil. This theme of welcome invaders contrasts with the unwelcome invaders repelled in the Days in Spain drama.

In 1987, since this summer festival and the Nightwatch are near to the traditional St. Johns Eve, much was made in the publicity and speeches of that year of the date's importance in historic Spanish St. Augustine. No deep significance should be attached to this revival since I had mentioned the coincidence of the date to several of the organizers.

As far as the winter and summer Illuminations themselves, they contain some minor differences in structure and content. The beginning and ending events at the plaza are similar with the exception, already mentioned, of the more convivial air of the Spanish event, and also of the not always successful attempts to speak Spanish. The Spanish Nightwatch procession itself makes more stops at way-stations, pausing at the Church, the fort, and at the city gate. At the Basilica Cathedral a priest emerges to meet the procession, carrying his censor. The Spanish colors are then dipped to the ground as a grand symbol of obedience. The large man who usually enacts this role executes it with such dramatic flourish as to extract a startle response from an audience unused to their own American flag hitting the ground. Afterwards the priest gives a talk on the relation of Church and state in Spanish times and of the bravery of those who came to this remote frontier with only their Church to offer solace.

In the December Illumination no stop is made at the Episcopal Church during the procession. However, the reenactors are invited to Sunday morning service at that church as part of the weekend program. The carol singing is a traditional English-Christmas feature. As the reader might guess, the opening prayer is Catholic in the Spanish event and Anglican in the English event. This is in contrast with many St. Augustine celebrations, as well as

community meetings, which commonly alternate the religious traditions, or are enclosed by an opening prayer by one and a benediction by the other.

Marching down the bayfront the Spanish procession proceeds to the fort where a cannon firing exhibition takes place. Then the walkers progress to the city gate to "secure" it and thence back to the plaza for the ending ceremony, culminating in the "volley of joy." Afterwards the "jollification," definitely not a part of the public domain, is enjoyed by those lucky enough to be integral participants.

In spite of the Greek and reenactment associations with the Spanish Nightwatch, and even with the visit by Governor Graham, who took the part of the Spanish governor one year, the numbers fail to approach those of the Grand Illumination in December. The summer tourists are beach-goers and campgrounders and may only hear of the event accidentally. I estimate that the attendance in 1987 was only several thousand, if that, compared with the street choking 6,000 plus attendees at the previous December event.

This discussion would not be complete without mention of the Festival of Lights, a procession of lighted and decorated boats, which is put on each December. The event was organized several years ago by the St. Augustine Yacht Club and is similar to such boats-become-Christmas-trees

parades organized by other coastal cities. It draws neither a substantial number of boats nor many spectators.

#### The Fourth of July

The fireworks display on the Fourth of July is one of the four individual events in the St. Augustine year drawing the largest number of spectators. The others are the Easter parade, the Blessing of the Fleet, and the Grand Illumination in December. It is also the longest continuously celebrated public event in the town. Commonly the fireworks climax a two or three day, or more, cycle, depending on the day of the week of the Fourth. Put on by the Jaycees, it is at the height of the beach season, and many of the festivities are held in the St. Augustine Beach pier area. These include the three-legged race, the greased-pole competition, the Little Miss St. Augustine contest, and the bikini contest. The fireworks display itself is viewed from the bayfront in town. The display costs the city a considerable amount of money each year, but is considered worth the expense to commemorate the occasion and attract tourists. The Fourth is strictly an American holiday, but what makes it unique in St. Augustine is the dramatic display arching over the bay, lighting up the fort and the many spectator boats riding at anchor in the rippling water.

In earlier times The Fourth of July was a local celebration in most communities in the United States. With

the advent of the automobile and the custom of weekending in the summer, regional sites featuring fireworks displays have come into prominence. St. Augustine is one of those regional sites, the most significant one in northeast Florida. Most Fourth holiday visitors are from close-by. In 1987 a license count showed 80% of the cars to be from nearby counties, and of the other 20% a number were from south Georgia.

The Fourth is not the only patriotic event in St. Augustine. Each year Memorial Day and Armed Forces Day are celebrated at the National Cemetery. The good media coverage of these events belies the small number of people actually in attendance. The fact that until a few years ago Florida celebrated Confederate Memorial Day on April 26th may still affect old-timer attendance at the May 30th event.

American patriotism is taken seriously in St. Augustine. This is seen from the myriad United States flags flying on the Bridge of Lions, marking all important town events, to the viable continuation of the USO. A constituency in St. Augustine, centering in the Military Order of the World Wars, takes as its charge the promotion of American patriotism. A few years ago this organization put on an event billed as "The First Annual Massing of the Colors," which, while dramatic and colorful, did not continue as a recurring affair.

The Bicentennial of the United States was a focus of celebration and ritual in the mid 1970s. Although the British Sixtieth Regiment of Foot was recreated and the British flag was flown over the fort, the fact that Florida was a Loyalist stronghold during the Revolution was actually played down. Certainly the most exciting drama of that era was not reenacted. As is well known among historians, information of the signing of the Declaration of Independence was received with such indignation in Loyalist St. Augustine that John Adams and John Hancock were burned in effigy in the plaza (Dovell 1952:89).

#### Other Events

We have then three major events in summer when tourists are ubiquitous--the Spanish Nightwatch at the beginning, the Fourth of July in the middle, and Days in Spain at the end. Fall when there is a lull in tourism brings events which cement the community together once more, or celebrations which display group identities. The St. Augustine Birthday Celebration at the Shrine, an example of the former, has already been described.

#### The Lincolnville Festival

In 1980 some members of the black community initiated the Washington Street Festival, a day-long event, held that first year on the Fourth of July, but moved the next year to a September date and renamed the Lincolnville Festival. It has now been moved to early October. Washington Street

where the festival is held was in earlier times the primary black business street, but more recently has been lined with a series of bars. One of the avowed purposes of the festival was to revitalize the street, to bring it back to being "the hot street" as one black informant termed it. Washington Street is on the east border of Lincolnville verging on a white residential area, while the true business center of Lincolnville has for some time been Central Avenue, now renamed Martin Luther King Avenue.

Celebrations in traditional black communities have revolved around two foci--the sacred, encompassing church events, and the secular, centering on the bar scene (Dougherty 1978). Forms, for example musical rhythms, may be quite similar in both arenas, and even participants may overlap, but the purpose of the two celebratory modes is quite different. The sacred exemplifies spontaneous joy in the service of the supernatural; the secular demonstrates convivial community unity and joy for joy's sake.

Regardless of several church booths, the Lincolnville Festival is predominantly secular in nature. The secular scene is simply moved onto the larger stage afforded by the street. Streets are still very much meeting places, providing a community forum in Lincolnville where few people own cars and usually walk about on their daily business.

To an outsider first entering the street, the noise is deafening. The Pili-Pili Band or the Signifying Monkey may

be performing on the wooden bandstand constructed on a vacant lot while other music drifts out from the bars. Those with booths hawk their wares, usually food specialties, while NAACP representatives canvas the crowd for donations for scholarships for "worthy students," pinning a little ribbon on those who give to the cause. An air of electric excitement prevails, amplified by the colorful dress of those attending--not costumes, but vivid colors and designs put together creatively. Some break into spontaneous dancing. Children continually percolate through the crowd while some of their elders, strategically placed on folding chairs, fan themselves in the heat. The spectacle is reminiscent of a Caribbean carnival. It is a happening, with the performances on the stage taking place whenever the performers show up, not according to the schedule published in the newspaper. The casual organization appears to bother no one.

The festival is well attended by black citizens of St. Augustine, but few whites venture into the street, although the number of whites increases each year. In one of the earlier years, aside from this researcher, the only white people to be seen on the street at 10:00 A.M. were a local newspaper reporter, a photographer, a few of the local "hippie" group with their children, a well known white folk singer about to perform on the stage, and a politician who sheepishly admitted as he ducked into one of the bars that

it was his only chance to visit such an establishment "and not get rolled."

In the mid-1980s Washington Street gained a bad reputation as the drug scene in St. Augustine. After a massive drug bust in which many whites as well as blacks were arrested, the vestiges of the drug scene moved to West Augustine to regroup. Washington Street now has a ghost town aspect, with the stores and bars shuttered and signs of vandalism everywhere. The only viable public entities are a church and two social service organizations--St. Francis House which runs a soup kitchen and overnight house for transients, and The Association for Retarded Citizens industries. This is hardly the revitalized street envisaged by the organizers of the festival.

Nonetheless, after several weak years, the festival is thriving. More of the booths are food booths run by individual families with such southern delicacies as pig's knuckles and souse offered. An association composed of members of the last classes before the black high school was integrated has a large booth with many unusual delicacies. The authorities evidently bend the rules a little for this festival since beer is sold in paper cups from an open truck next to the tent stage, a seeming violation of the public consumption of alcohol ordinance. The racial mix has changed to about three-fourths black to one-fourth white.

The Martin Luther King Birthday Commemoration

Until 1985 the Lincolnville Festival was the only attempt at a public community-wide black celebration since the public commemoration of Emancipation Day every January first was discontinued around the time of World War I. Emancipation Day has gradually moved from public view. From a grand scale public event at the turn of the century, it was later celebrated by a somewhat smaller event at the public area known as the "Little Links" in Lincolnville. Now it is observed in the black churches on the Sunday nearest January 1st.

In 1985 the reenactment of the Martin Luther King march was begun, an event which may have some far-reaching effects for black celebrations in the community. That year, state officials decided that the inauguration of the Martin Luther King Birthday, newly enacted as a mid-January Florida holiday, should be staged in St. Augustine. Whether intentional or not, the first that any local officials knew of this state commemoration was in media reports. Attempts were made to smooth this over, and a week of festivities was hastily planned by local authorities in cooperation with the state.

The main ceremony on recently renamed M.L. King Avenue was well attended by blacks from throughout Florida. Aside from TV, radio, and newspaper reporters, the only other whites were a sprinkling of state officials, members of a

Flagler College history class assigned to attend, and as in the case of the Lincolnville Festival, members of the, for want of a better name, liberal "hippie" fringe. Governor Bob Graham marched at the head of the procession from Lincolnville to the "slave market" on the plaza as the singing of "We Shall Overcome" bounced off the coquina walls of an almost completely deserted downtown. A few curious whites watched the ending ceremony at the market building. One old-timer told me that he had come down to see if there was going to be any bloodshed "like there was twenty years ago."

Afterwards white city and county officials, the mayor and sheriff particularly, were faulted for not being in evidence. The mayor retorted that he had taken full part in the breakfast hosted by the city and believed that he was adequately represented by the black city commissioner at the march. The sheriff replied that he had behaved responsibly by being in a central command location in case trouble had erupted. Actually only two minor incidents occurred. Before the march there was a brief scuffle between some white and black adolescents near the National Guard Arsenal. Later when Governor Graham speaking at the ending ceremony referred to the "Slave Market" in St. Augustine as symbolizing the repression of blacks, a young white man shouted angrily that it was the "Public Market," a market

for fruits and vegetables, never for slave auctions. He and his dog were led off by police.

The Martin Luther King Birthday is now celebrated each year and is a developing event. It is presently in a myth-building period. At the commemorative breakfast in 1988 the principal speaker advised those in attendance that King fully expected to lose his life in St. Augustine.

Certainly the minimal attendance of whites at both the Lincolnville Festival and the commemoration makes a statement of a still strongly entrenched caste situation prevailing in the town.

#### The Ancient City Jubilee and the Ethnic Food Fair

The Ancient City Jubilee, a week-long event honoring older Americans was initiated in 1977. It was held the first year in March, but as we have seen so often in St. Augustine festive events, it was moved the following year to the week spanning the end of September to the first part of October. It has variously included patriotic pageantry, concerts, home tours, sidewalk sales, flea markets, and art shows, but its centerpiece was always the Ethnic Food Fair held at the Cross and Sword amphitheater.

The Food Fair features booths with various ethnic foods including such culinary attractions as German, Greek, Indian, Welsh, English, Black (soul food), Minorcan, and others. Small portions are sold so that many different

offerings may be sampled while watching various ethnic performances on the stage below.

The Food Fair is a remarkable attempt to integrate all parts of the new and old St. Augustine community at a time of year when tourist static is absent. It is an exposition of St. Augustine as a melting pot, a place where new and old residents can understand the town in a "becoming" state. The Ethnic Food Fair displays the conflict of the differing elements through the competing booths, while demonstrating, through the temporary community of booths, a brief unity.

The amphitheater is perched on a hill and down below is a large parking lot where a flea market is held on the first Saturday of every month, which on this particular Saturday in October is the day of the Food Fair. Because of the expected attendance it is the largest flea market of the year. We have then the market down below, the food fair on the pavilion and the entertainment on the stage, which dips down below the pavilion on the other side. The walkway up the hill past the Bartram Trail marker becomes an passageway from local trading to sharing in the new St. Augustine community. Belly dancers from a local performing group periodically stage dances on the wide part in the walkway at the entry to the pavilion.

The symbolic unity and its "as if" we were one happy family commensual aspect is a common element in celebrations all over the world. Galt (1973) in describing Carnival of

the present day on the Italian Island of Pantelleria concludes that as "ritualized community solidarity" it is the only unifying influence in an otherwise atomistic society. Other examples can be given. The seasonal dances of the American Indian, specifically the Green Corn Dance, the gourd dance and others, unite on a periodic basis diverse elements in ritual bounded space, such space a distillation of the community icon, affirming its ideology.

The Ethnic Food Fair is a modern manifestation of market day on the St. Augustine plaza in other centuries when diverse groups came together to barter and trade. That the modern event is displaced from the central town demonstrates spatial repositioning of community centers, just as Days in Spain has been eviscerated by local carnivals in outlying areas.

The high point of the event was in 1980 and 1981. One learned to get there early as the choicest food had a way of being sold out before 11:00 A.M. At that time it was attended mainly by middle aged or older people. About 75% were new residents in the town. A typical scene would be two couples from the Shores trying out foods at a number of booths, the women exclaiming about going off their diets and the men kidding with the costumed women serving food at the various booths. The average stay was usually no longer than forty-five minutes, although the affair continued all day. As with Days in Spain some of the "locals" come to buy food

to take home and rarely do more than glance briefly at the entertainment.

SAMFEST

The Ancient City Jubilee eventually faded out because of lack of attendance while its only successful event, the Ethnic Food Fair, survived briefly as a part of SAMFEST, which stands for St. Augustine Maritime Festival. SAMFEST, now sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce had a curious beginning.

In 1982 some promoters decided that St. Augustine would be an ideal place to stage an offshore power boat classic. The boats entered cost hundreds of thousands of dollars and the drivers were professionals. Such a spectacular show was to put St. Augustine on the map and rival the Daytona Beach car races in attracting tourist business to the town.

For a number of reasons, not the least of which was the weather, the power boat classic fizzled in spite of all the hoopla surrounding it. The failure produced a lot of glee among some of the small boat owners who organized a "Great Dinghy Race" as an antidote. The race caught on immediately, someone had the idea of augmenting this feature to honor St. Augustine's maritime heritage, and SAMFEST was born.

I have previously noted the increase in boat residents and boat tourism in St. Augustine, and the popularity of the town as a way station on the annual boat treks southward in

the fall and northward again in the spring. Just as the Blessing of the Fleet occurs at the time of the northward migration, SAMFEST is held on the first weekend in October, at the time the boating "snowbirds" head for south Florida.

SAMFEST is a lighthearted affair including besides the race a sea crafts show and seafood tasting booths on the plaza, the awards ceremony at the White Lion Tavern where the "Infamous Minorcan Cup" is awarded to the winner of the race, and the Sea Monster Ball. Even the rules are facetious in nature since the craft entered in the race only have to be dinghies "in Spirit" and "bribes will be graciously accepted" by the race committee since "violations of and interpretations of any race rule are subject to the decisions and whims of the Race Committee." This cultural satire is much appreciated by those attending the festivities.

#### Cracker Day

Cracker Day, also in October, is held at the fairgrounds to the west of town, and is sponsored by the St. Johns County Livestock Association. The term "cracker," according to the newspaper publicity (St. Augustine Record, October 11, 1980) is a person "born near the turn of the century in Florida, when no fences criss-crossed the land and Cowboys [capitalization theirs] rode weeks at a time, bringing in strays and small isolated herds of hearty cattle that roamed the State's timber lands and hammocks." Loosely

used, the term has come to mean "old timey", rurally-oriented Floridians. It usually refers to males, although the "Cowbelles," who belong to the national organization of that name, have their place in the St. Johns County Cracker Day. The name, Cracker, is never used to refer to blacks, although a few black cowboys can be found taking part in Cracker Day.

Cattle ranching has an impressive history in the St. Augustine area. A working rancho was in full operation by 1605, the first such spread in what is now the continental United States (Akerman 1976:3). Through the years cattle ranching remained a significant agricultural enterprise in the west county area until the purchase of acreage for residential developments began in the 1980s.

Little is made of this Spanish background in the modern Cracker Day. However, one possible continuity is the "Spanish" bullwhip demonstration given by one old-timer who roams about during the festivities delighting bystanders by encircling individuals with his whip, so skillfully done that his subjects hardly feel it.

Actually, much of the event is modeled after the rodeos of the western United states, although, since it does not include the rough and tough bronc-busting and other such competitions, it is not a full scale western event. Nevertheless, those attending can watch exciting horse and pony races, barrel races, clogging exhibitions, country

music numbers, and other such features; and the grand style barbecue served is in line with the western cattleman's tradition.

The high point of the day is the honoring of a member of the Cattleman's Association as "Cracker of the Year." Here it is easy to be aware that this western style event is in the St. Augustine area instead of in "Cowboyville," Wyoming, for a list of the men so honored yields an almost equal distribution of Anglo and Minorcan-Spanish names. Farmers and cattlemen in the west county area for many years mirrored the two-part system of the town. Originally there were two Catholic churches in the western part of the county, but St. Ambrose parish is the only one remaining. It appears that although the honorees of Cracker Day are still evenly divided, the area, in fact, is increasingly Anglo, and this is reflected in those who take part in the celebration.

Attending Cracker Day is to experience for a change a celebration in which the age/sex spectrum is representative of rural areas throughout the United States. It is still very much a local event and has been found by neither the tourists nor the retiree group, with a few exceptions in the latter case.

With the sale of one of the largest west county ranches for a multimillion dollar real estate development, and more of the same in the offing, the actual "cracker days" of the

county will be over. The old life of rugged individualism will come to an end, or at least the local image of that lifestyle. It is at just such times that ritual which celebrates a lifeway develops, out of hope for its continuance or desperation over its demise. Cracker Day shows no sign of disappearing, and recently an attempt has been made to put St. Johns County on a national rodeo circuit for the initiation of a full scale event.

#### Local Imagery

Local imagery has been brought home to me quite forcefully by several incidents. On a trip to New Orleans several years ago I found the festive symbolism of the French and Spanish there to be in marked variance with that of St. Augustine. In New Orleans the French were the ideal types in the dominant historical theme, presented as strong and vigorous, but refined and cultured, the essence of urbanity, with the touch of exotic sinfulness that this implies. Edmonson (1956:240) writing about Mardi Gras says the, "Carnival expresses, too, New Orleans' view of itself as a 'Latin' city, meaning by this not that it is still French, but that it is gay, wicked, sophisticated, and subtly lascivious - all that the Anglo-American understands by the term 'Latin'." In the present day even the ranking black group there is described as very "French," sophisticated and aristocratic.

What struck me as singular after long immersion in the St. Augustine scene was what shadowy non-entities the Spanish were. One New Orleans native waved them off with, "Oh, they didn't amount to much and they weren't here very long. New Orleans is really French." In St. Augustine it is just the opposite, the Spaniards are the heroic progenitors and the French and later the British and Americans are their foils.

A closer to home example is even more salient. In 1975 at the time of the Minorcan statue dedication in St. Augustine, the town of New Smyrna invited a number of leading St. Augustine citizens to a special "Minorcan Day" in New Smyrna. Very few of the original Minorcan colony stayed in, or returned to, New Smyrna so that little survives except the name of the town (named for the birthplace of the plantation owner's wife), the remains of the extensive canal system, and the foundation of one coquina building.

A pageant, titled The New Smyrna Colony, was presented by the New Smyrna High School Spanish Club as part of the program. The St. Augustine contingent was quite taken aback by the portrayal. However, in politeness to their hosts, very little was said except for several people who grumbled that Fr. Camps was dressed in brown Franciscan monk garb instead of the historically accurate black priest's habit. The really jarring note was the way in which the Minorcans

and the English proprietor of the colony were portrayed. The Minorcans were not the brave and manly men and queenly women (partaking of the dominant St. Augustine-Hispanic image) suffering the oppression of an evil plantation owner, as they are mythologized in St. Augustine, but instead were portrayed as poor peasant families, patient and hardworking, whom the proprietor attempted to help, but ultimately was unable to because of his own declining political fortunes. Presumably the New Smyrna version of the story would be just as acceptable to visiting tourists in St. Augustine, but it is disjunctive with community ideology and would never be so presented locally.

#### Concluding Remarks

This chapter documents a number of annual community events to round out consideration of the form and meaning of eventing in a tourist town more overburdened than most with a festival superstructure.

As varied and extensive as the festival offerings are in the town, it has not been possible to treat them all. For one, the Island Mardi Gras, which takes place on Anastasia Island each fall was not described. Nor has more than passing allusion been made to the Cross and Sword production which delights audiences nightly in the summer at the amphitheatre on Anastasia Island.

The events dealt with in this chapter allow several conclusions. The two Illumination events are a vivid

remainder of the historical, as well as present, division of the town into Hispanic-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant. In the opposing rituals these two groupings are bridged by the common military forms and further elaborated by the display of the town as welcoming to strangers and sanctuary for outsiders.

The third major subculture in the community, the blacks, which once also broke out more clearly along the characteristic Catholic and Protestant division, has recently made entry into public festival life. Their Lincolnville Festival, while unique and colorful, remains a neighborhood event. The Martin Luther King Birthday Celebration, in contrast, is a solemn reenactment of the march from Lincolnville to the "slave market" in the plaza by the civil rights marchers of the 1960s. It is thus a black procession penetrating the community center of white St. Augustine, moving in the customary southwest to northeast direction. As a local event it carries symbolism for blacks all over the state and even the nation, tying the local black community's martyrdom to that of a wider domain. Its procession feature and its celebration of a birthday put it squarely within the St. Augustine festival genre. One can expect that the commemoration will increase in significance in the future as the angers and hurts of St. Augustine's "long hot summer" recede into the past.

Carrying out the dual-event theme are those occasions honoring the maritime heritage. At a time when pleasure craft contribute increasingly to the tourist dollar, the Blessing of the Fleet in the spring and SAMFEST in the fall are significant additions to yearly celebrations. These water related ceremonies, the one sacred, the other secular, coincide with the intracoastal waterway parade to and from Florida. They mirror planting and harvest in terrestrial ceremonies, with the serious aspect of spring and the joyful mood of fall. The Festival of Lights has also been added to the boat procession events, showing a trend toward proliferation which has already occurred in the "birthday" events in the town.

SAMFEST and Cracker Day, while totally different in staging personnel and avowed purpose, have a theme in common, an attempt to hold up local, folk values in the face of outside development and changes within the town. Cracker Day celebrates an idealized rural image and a dying way of life. In SAMFEST we see a correction in ceremonial guise for the way the small craft values, for so many centuries tied with local life, are now threatened by the big craft.

The Ethnic Food Festival is less a corrective than a community attempt through ritual to incorporate the new town elements. The Fair shows a continuity with the market theme, displaced, as the community is being displaced, from the town center.

The patriotism of the Fourth of July and the time and effort and money spent on that festival cycle demonstrate the paradox of a loyal American town with a Spanish heritage celebrating a national holiday. The Fourth, just as other patriotic dramas in the town, helps to resolve the town's ambivalence over prior loyalties to Spain and England.

The emergence of Greek involvement and themes in the community ceremonial complex fits with their evolving brokering role in an increasingly fragmented community and with their adoption of St. Augustine as a sacred center.

We have now covered the major festive events in St. Augustine. In the concluding chapter a model will be formulated as an aid in understanding public ritual life under continued incursions of non-working strangers--tourists and newly arrived residents--and under the encroachment of urbanization.

## CHAPTER VII CONCLUSIONS

Farewell; & fair befall thee, gentle town!  
Ralph Waldo Emerson, Little Journal  
at St. Augustine, 1827

Using ceremonial life as a lens, St. Augustine's development has been traced from its early position as a preindustrial folk complex, through an elite era of tourism, into its emergence as a center of mass tourism, and finally to its entry into the postindustrial, modern world with the coming of large-scale development. Each era and change in community form was mirrored in public ritual.

The model in Figure 13 illustrates these changes. The four stages named present a developmental framework somewhat different from the preindustrial, industrial, postindustrial model commonly used. In the St. Augustine instance there has never been a significant industrial base, although that sector is showing some modest development in northern St. Johns County at the present time.

Stage I is used as the baseline for the Folk Era. Traditional life was challenged during this era by the gradual incorporation of tourists and new residents. At first minor alterations were made in ritual expression to accommodate the new, dislocating elements, but finally a

STAGES	FESTIVALS	KEY EVENTS
I FOLK ERA	MINORCAN FESTIVALS (Esp. Carnival)	U.S. TERRITORY
II ELITE-FOLK	1858	BISHOP VEROT APPT. CIVIL WAR
	1885 EMANCIPATION DAY	
	PONCE DE LEON CELEB. CAKE WALK	FLAGLER ERA
III MODERN	1910	WORLD WAR I
	1918 B PONCE DE LEON CELEBRATION REVIVED	ALCAZAR ERA
	1930	ECONOMIC DEPRESSION
IV POSTINDUSTRIAL	A EXPERIMENTAL PERIOD	WORLD WAR II
	1958 EASTER FESTIVAL DAYS IN SPAIN	JET TRAVEL BEGINS STATE PRESERVATION BRD.
	B GRAND ILLUMINATIONS	CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY 1971 DISNEY WORLD OPEN 1976 U.S. BICENTENNIAL
V POSTINDUSTRIAL	1980 DECLINE IN DAYS IN SPAIN AND EASTER FESTIVAL	PERIOD OF RAPID GROWTH
	BEGINNING OF A NUMBER OF NEW FESTIVE EVENTS	
1988		

Figure 13. Development Periods and Associated Festivals

critical juncture was reached leading to the decline of folk Catholicism and the attendant ritual complex.

During Stage II A the elite tourism of the Flagler Era was structured so that most visitors spent all winter or longer in town. The Ponce de Leon celebration was begun as a white community-wide celebration, while black features, particularly the cakewalk, were also amusements for the wealthy visitors. After a lull occasioned by the partial collapse of elite tourism, World War I, and other factors, a second elite era was initiated. This time period, Stage IIB, which I have called the Alcazar Era, coincided with the prosperous times of the 1920s in the United States. Visiting elite, most of them somewhat lower in status than visitors of the Flagler Era, blended with the town's elite and with the emerging middle class. The result altered the social landscape in significant ways. As a symbol of the new era the Ponce de Leon Celebration was revived becoming a bridge to modernization.

Stage III was ushered in by the catastrophic depression of the 1930s. Class lines were partially blurred by financial problems in all sectors, and until the advent of World War II the community was a closely interacting complex again. Lack of resources put a temporary damper on public celebrations. After World War II as automobile tourism accelerated, St. Augustine entered an experimental era in festival life. In Stage IIIB the town's two major modern

festivals began, and as time went on others were added. Near the beginning of this stage the civil rights disturbances of the 1960s temporarily caused a setback in public ritual life because of the mild depression which ensued in the town. This setback was overcome by the opening of Disneyworld in Orlando. The U.S. Bicentennial, when historic locale visitation was encouraged nationwide also had a positive effect on tourism in St. Augustine.

During the time of Stage III in St. Augustine, the United States was passing through the climax of its industrial era. The town while undergoing modernization was not industrialized. "Historically," as Lauer (1973:208) clarifies the matter, "modernization and industrialization have been closely associated, but they are not equivalent terms. Modernization is a more inclusive term, for modernization can occur apart from industrialization." In the present case it is clear that the town chose its niche, consciously or unconsciously, as a tourist town for its economic role in the modern, industrial world.

The long, slow progress into the modern era is contrasted with the dramatic alterations which are now boosting the city into the postindustrial world, Stage IV. This is not to say that the community jumped from foot traffic to the airplane, however, as has frequently been the case in Third World areas. Rather, from the Flagler Era onward it maintained a parallel development, in tangential

relationship with the prevailing industrial culture of the western world.

St. Augustine began to undergo dramatic development at the beginning of the 1980s. Tourism remained stable from the 1970s but the population was increasing rapidly because of those choosing to make the community their home. These new residents, mostly retirees, have occasioned a building and real estate boom and the intrusion of outside development interests. Emphasis has shifted to services, information, and consumer values, marking the entry of the community into a post-modern era. Shallow attachment to the community on the part of these new residents, has led to the need for community forms to incorporate them more closely.

Spatial and temporal changes have fragmented the community. The tensions caused by such dislocations have led to several changes in public festivals. The two main fetes have suffered some decline in attendance by members of the old community. Differential space utilization has led to decentralization of festivals. Likewise, a number of new, specialized events, syntonic with the emerging community and resulting contemporary issues, are finding a place in the festival round.

Now it is pertinent to review the evolution of ceremonies as related to tourism and development in somewhat more detail. In 1821, when Florida passed from Spanish domination and became a territory of the United States, the

town was a closely interacting folk community composed of approximately equal numbers of white and black residents. The whites, a Mediterranean-Catholic group, referred to as the Minorcans, were descendants of plantation workers brought to the New World some one hundred and fifty years before. Theirs was a traditional community based on an agricultural, fishing, and hunting economy. Ceremonial life was extensive, grounded in the Hispanic liturgical calendar, seasons marked by the traditional religious holidays and processions. Carnival before Lent and a smaller Carnival at the time of St. Johns Eve were the main convivial events. Lay control of the Catholic Church in early territorial days allowed continuance of folk Catholicism, with its associated ritual observances, until mid-century.

The blacks, mostly slaves, and Catholic like their owners, comprised the other significant part of the population. A caste system prevailed even though it was of the benign pattern established by Spain in her New World colonial enterprises.

Early Anglo-Protestant emigrants into the new territory from the Southern states did not significantly affect the character of the community, and it was not until more prosperous visitors from the Northern states began to come seeking health cures that the contours of town life began to change. These winter visitors, while appreciating the quaint town and its people, considered some of their

lifeways improper. Especially targeted were Sunday merrymaking and Carnival. Some compromises were worked out to create more sedate Sundays, but Carnival which had provided an annual safety valve through ritual inversion--status, sex, age, and race--was considered a barbaric observance and began to crumble rapidly by mid-century. However, the Catholic Church itself contributed to the final discontinuance of most of these early customs and celebrations.

The Civil War with attendant occupation by Union forces was an additional destructive force affecting indigenous ritual. The reconstruction which followed, however, gave temporary impetus to the first large public black ceremony, "Emancipation Day."

The first "rite of modernization," as Peacock (1968) refers to these entering wedges of the modern world, occurred with the staging of the initial Ponce de Leon Celebration in 1885, just as Henry Flagler, a prominent nineteenth century industrialist, was planning to build a railroad and an enclave of ornate hotels at the western edge of the downtown plaza.

The few tourist accommodations before that time were interspersed in the community. The Flagler-built complex established the first separate tourist space in the town at the same time that it implanted, each winter season, an upper class onto the preexisting folk community, thus

amplifying a trend begun by health seekers. A kind of "two worlds" phenomenon emerged--the one folk, Catholic, and rural; the other elite, Protestant, and urban in orientation, a cleavage that still influences the community today.

For so small a community, the Ponce celebration was a grand-scale commemorative pageant featuring the mythical discovery and founding of the town and was widely participated in by the white citizens. It became a kind of elevating, gentrified carnival in which dressing up was no longer for nefarious purposes, but was to glorify the past and cast a rosy glow on the expected future. The pace was difficult to maintain, however, and the celebration was staged only two times before the beginning of this century. The complex of railroads and hotels and the consequent tourism of the gilded Flagler Era while not bringing industry to the town, and actually acting more like an attached foreign body, set the model for St. Augustine's role in the industrial world, that of a tourist attraction.

The complex thus developed in 19th century St. Augustine, even though it occurred at an earlier time than the major touristic developments now taking place in the third world, followed the same process. Forster (1964:219) has noted the serious dislocating effect which takes place when impetus for touristic development comes from the outside. Reactive forces are set up which are disjunctive

with other economic sectors such as agriculture, causing underdevelopment to be locked into subsequent community structures (Wilson 1979:235; Cohen 1984:384).

Although the Flagler period was short-lived, and the Ponce de Leon Celebration was staged only intermittently in the ensuing years, the tourism monoculture endured. Effects of outside development continued as an influential substrata even after some local control was restored.

However, labor did not become a significant commodity, but rather the economy generated by tourism had some of the characteristics of a cottage industry complex. Small entrepreneurial efforts actually helped to maintain the indigenous cultural system while keeping the cash economy afloat. "Tourism does not demand modern capitalist structures and values," conclude Meleghy et al. (1985:195), "but . . . is thoroughly compatible with traditional precapitalist structures and values . . . providing that development is relatively slow."

It cannot truly be said that St. Augustine entered into the modern world in any substantial way until at least the end of World War I and the coming of the Florida real estate boom and its automobile-borne, mass tourism. A slowly emerging middle class in the town joined with some of the left-over elite of the Flagler Era to initiate a time of prosperity and hope during the 1920s which I have named the Alcazar Era. During Stage IIB the Ponce de Leon

Celebration, now finally a true rite of modernization, flowered into an annual event whose participants were the entire white community.

After an abrupt end of the Ponce de Leon Celebration, occasioned by the Depression, a lull ensued in festival life. Later, after World War II, a modest affluence in the United States brought an increasingly travelling public to St. Augustine. Mass tourism was beginning. During this time, Stage IIIA, various festival events were tried on a small scale but failed to endure in any significant way although they paved the way for future celebrations. Finally, it can be said that Stage IIIB began in the late 1950s when state and local funds became available to restore, maintain, and display the historic town. Large modern festivals such as the Easter Festival and Days in Spain were introduced which, interrupted only by the racial strife of the 1960s, were augmented by a host of other festivals, commemorations, and observances to form a large complex of ceremonies throughout the year. Some of the fiestas begun at that time, particularly the Easter Festival and Days in Spain, were themselves updated rites of modernization, displays of the town to outsiders as a prospering city, worthy of a visit.

A central element in the elaborate festival round was the "heritage native" movement and its ceremonial symbol, the Royal Family. The theme was royal Spanish heritage,

while the elegant model used was derived from the remembered grandeur of the Flagler and Alcazar eras. Revitalization of the Minorcan-Spanish ethnic background was the thrust, use of ritual was the method, and rise in status of the group was the result. The use of mystification promoted a new, more acceptable reality for those descendants of the original folk community.

During the IIIB festival climax period a differentiation began leading to an overelaboration of the system. Twinning of rituals occurred along several dimensions. Dual eventing using the same motif, one for outsiders and one for the local people, established ceremonial "back regions," extending Goffman's (1959) model, while leaving festival "front regions" intact for touristic display. This duality used space and time (of the year) as differentiators while still employing much of the same narratives and symbols.

Further bifurcations have taken place along the shifting contour lines of the community itself. For example, splitting occurred along the main community religious-social lines leading to nearly identical Illumination celebrations, one in the winter celebrating Anglo heritage, the other in the summer commemorating Spanish heritage. In an even further differentiation a winter Regatta of Lights parallels the December Illumination, using the same processional style. Other

structural balancing also took place. Events added to the two main celebrations furnished internal sexual balance. Festivals with a women's theme are found in spring and early summer and those with a male emphasis cluster in the summer and early fall, harking back to an Old World pattern. In fall, when visitor-lean months occur, events promoting community unity and social-group rites of intensification are prominent.

As outsiders become a constant part of the landscape, incorporating them temporarily into the community through festival becomes a satisfactory way of buffering the intrusion. A prominent feature in St. Augustine is the inclusion of outsiders, both those specially invited and casual attendees, in a bounded space procession. The two Illumination events thus are "rites of temporary incorporation" for visitors and for new residents as well.

In the 1980s St. Augustine was at last broken from its relative isolation, an isolation which had been little interrupted except for the customary stream of easily contained tourists through the town at certain times of the year. National firms established local branches, the first mall was built, commercial and residential building boomed. Large development interests found the county a fertile ground for multi-million dollar investments and local control over important decisions weakened. New residents, many of them retirees, others coming for job opportunities,

were a force to be reckoned with. Local governmental, commercial, and social life was displaced from downtown locations. St. Johns County had become the 34th fastest growing county in the nation, and the old conservative, small-scale opportunism characteristic of the tourism monoculture no longer worked.

This tourism plus development, like the tourism development of the Flagler Era has been largely generated externally, with some local collusion. As in the earlier external development, it has had a dislocating effect on other socio-economic structures. Likewise in the ideological dimension, there is an old community vs. new community rift.

Festival life has also been affected dramatically in this Stage IV frame. The two major festivals have suffered some decline in attendance and one of them, the Days in Spain fiesta, without some radical reconstruction, may soon disappear. What has happened are three things. First, some "cultural fatigue," one of the causes of cultural change mentioned by Kroeber (1948:403), has set in, amplified by what, by extension, I call "cultural embarrassment." In an increasingly sophisticated climate local people realize that forms and events may not stack up against outside norms, may not be authentic representations, may cause the community to look like a hick town, may even be laughed at. Gamper (1985:251) describes how local people in the Gail Valley in

Austria wore invented costumes when tourism first began in the 1960s, but by 1981 they were making great efforts to wear authentic costumes as a matter of "ethnic pride." Ridicule, as a secular sanction, has replaced the sacred sanction of earlier times.

In attempts to provide more authentic dramas, and with the increasing emphasis on the "true" and "real," festival organizers in St. Augustine tend to follow the lead of those whom I have referred to as the Coquina Ethic group. As observances were once sanctioned by the Church, the blessing today in St. Augustine comes from these new high priests, the cultural conservators.

The second factor is the gradual movement of community festival life away from the large scale events and into smaller events closer to local life or into institutional arenas. The "front region" of public ritual still exists in visible downtown locations but the "back regions," not always in the past very well concealed, are now farther removed from the vision of strangers. Whereas it was relatively easy to protect the back regions of community life from pass-through tourists, new residents pose more of a problem.

Pre-existing, strictly indigenous events such as Cracker Day have become increasingly popular, while neighborhood performances, such as the Lincolnville Festival have been newly initiated. The most significant public

festival started in the decade is SAMFEST, with a theme which is lighthearted and pertinent to increasing maritime tourism. The Martin Luther King birthday celebration, recently initiated, ties a conflict in the town's recent history to a national commemoration. It, however, still maintains a local form, the procession, and an important theme, the "birthday," helping to nest it into the community festival round.

Likely, we see in the present shift in public ritual an echo of Carnival's demise. Nineteenth century winter sojourners brought outside norms to bear on the town just as new residents and outside interests are doing in the 1980s. Local people in that earlier era also suffered from ridicule of their festival customs, bringing cultural shame and embarrassment, spelling the disintegration of a well-developed system.

The third problem in the festival sphere under the new conditions is the leadership vacuum. The entry of outside, moneyed interests has created an elite in the community which is now bridging out to larger scenes. Community leaders are no longer strictly focused on town boosting and the esteem to be gained by leadership in festival planning and execution.

By a quirk of circumstance, the community two-part system of Catholic and Protestant groupings is being maintained. The Catholic sector, enlarged by retirees and

others moving to a town where their religion has an impressive credential, is even increasing, but changed now to include non-Hispanic Catholics. The Coquina Ethic group likewise divides into those interested in Spanish history and those concentrating on Anglo history. The continuance of the customary balance acts as an integrative factor, which along with some continuing conservatism, is positive for community survival and viability. The military, other Mediterraneans in the community, and to a certain extent the Coquina Ethic group serve as mediating structures in the dual system. Although each of these may divide internally along religious lines, their loyalty to another uniting element helps diffuse this division.

The continuities and discontinuities of symbols, forms, and other structures within the one hundred and sixty years examined is exceedingly complex. One gets into the highly speculative realm when, for example, examining the importance of the decorated horse or the processional mode in St. Augustine festivals. Greenwood (1982:137) sees "the explanation of how and why things endure as the most challenging analytical problem of all." Smith (1982) has described a reenacted festival dance as an "act of preservation," but also at the same time as "innovative." She noted the startling continuities in festival elements used by a Southwestern Indian group, long isolated geographically, and where traditional festivals,

discontinued for some time, were reinstated for local and tourist enjoyment. Her point is that "sociocultures are derived from an individual and collective concern with continuity." Continuities exist in spite of countervailing forces.

Some explanation for this need for continuity can be found in the work of Marris (1974) on loss and change. He applies an individual model, that of loss through death or other offices, and the subsequent attempts at reconstitution found in the mourning process, to the losses suffered by communities under disruption and change. A struggle to maintain a sense of meaning in changed circumstances, leads to incorporation of preexisting features and themes into new community designs.

The festival thread, altered, added to, truncated, differentiated, even overstrained at times, carries a significant part of that continuity for a community. St. Augustine is not unique in using celebration for cultural maintenance even during trying conditions. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, whose nickname is City of Fabulous Festivals, unites multiple ethnic groups through festival differentiation within community unity. Unlike St. Augustine where the controlling image is "The Oldest City," resilient under constant siege, Milwaukee celebrates a melting pot unity. The choice of ritual rather than architecture, landscape, economic enterprise, or some other

element to maintain group cohesion (even as the constituents of that group are changing), is a matter of history as well as economic and social convenience.

Whether the four stage evolutionary scheme outlined for St. Augustine can be generalized to other locales in industrial nations--locales where tourism has long been a factor--is problematical. Unfortunately, while communities have been frequently studied as they pass from some "original" state into tourism, the later merging of tourism into spawned development, and the resulting postindustrial blend is much less well documented. However, in scanning the literature, St. Augustine appears to be closest to some of the European villages and towns which were first folk communities, then progressed into tourist attractions, and finally into "developed" areas. The species of long history, "quaint city" tourism is rare in the Unites States, and Third World societies do not furnish apt examples either, because of the wide disparity between local and tourist cultures.

As earlier described, Nice's economic and social progress is not unlike that of St. Augustine, and from the information available, festival life, particularly Carnival, carries continuities from the past (Nash 1977; Haug 1982).

Fuenterrabia, Greenwood's (1972, 1977) Spanish Basque case, has had a similar developmental sequence from the original community, through an elite tourist period in the

late 19th century, to mass tourism and development. A directed change effort was made by the Spanish government to use festivals to attract tourists to the area. By the 1970s the traditional Alarde which, not unlike St. Augustine's Ponce de Leon Celebration, memorializes the successfully repelled siege of the walled town by French invaders, was "commoditized" for tourist consumption and later used as a vehicle for political gain. One suspects that either event twinning may occur in Fuenterrabia or that the celebration itself will fragment, just as the Ponce de Leon Celebration did, only to have pieces or remembered symbols, dramas and ideological parts reappear in subsequent ritual frames.

While illustrative of the stages, the above European examples do not cover the sharper class, religious, and caste issues encountered by many New World communities. For those, we must look to such celebrations as the Entrada Festival of Santa Fe, New Mexico, or Mardi Gras in New Orleans where sub-units in the social system are rigidly affirmed, distributed, and reenacted yearly. In St. Augustine the inversion of caste and class in Carnival, and the resultant communitas, gave way to the ritual fixing of the white class groups in the Ponce de Leon Celebration, with black participation, except as onlookers, excluded and relegated to the "back region" of community life. The festival pattern set did not change much until this decade

when gradual participation of the black group, affected by outside norms, increased.

Meanwhile, the medium-low status of the Minorcans altered drastically after the Easter Festival became a vehicle for upward mobility. Women's status was likewise enhanced by this large scale tourist festival.

The above points up the various functions which ritual serves in the community context. It provides for socialization, education, and integration of community members. It also functions along the recruitment, exclusion-inclusion dimension, all of these differentially employed for various sectors of the community, new and old, and for outsider-tourists. Moreover, and perhaps of overriding importance in St. Augustine, ritual is a medium of conflict resolution.

Now it will be fruitful to return to the paradigm of Arensberg and Kimball (1972) which illuminates culture and society as manifest through community form and process. These authors delineate a number of American (United States) community forms (Arensberg and Kimball 1972:103-116). In their taxonomy the New England town and Southern county are near replicas of their Old World European progenitors. On the other hand, the mid-western town with its dispersed country neighborhood, the hill-south community featuring kin-based subsistence farming, and the western frontier community are distinctly American amalgams of diverse

traditions laid across new landscapes. The industrial towns and railroad cities, later additions germinated from the huge reorganization in living brought about by the industrial revolution, adding their imprint to the American nation.

St. Augustine's original template did not fit any of the above types, but was that common to settlements around the Mediterranean Sea. Arensberg and Kimball deal little with this influence except to note (Arensberg and Kimball 1972:92) that Latin American communities are the New World heirs of these forms. They do, however, make the telling comment that Mediterranean cultures and social structures are a link to a pattern "below the rise of European feudal and bourgeois orders, below the industrial transformation of the North . . . they are the underpinning of the ancient Old World institutions of Europe--the classical and Middle Eastern worlds."

As discussed the Mediterranean imprint in St. Augustine has been altered through the years but never entirely lost. As an American frontier town and later as a resort town Anglo influences were incorporated into the community context. It is the Mediterranean background, however, that makes St. Augustine comparable today with Mediterranean resort areas.

The resort or tourist town was not included in Arensberg and Kimball's typology, perhaps because in earlier

eras there were so few which could be designated as such. Indeed St. Augustine is no longer strictly a tourist town, but is of the emerging type--a combination of a tourist and retirement area in a warm climate, increasingly called the "Sunbelt Town." It is a postindustrial type grounded not in subsistence or production but in services, information, and packaged experience. It is organized around leisure and consumption writ large.

With the exception of the 19th century hibernants, some of whom stayed to form part of the developing community, tourists have been in the nature of a flowing stream, touching, but not affecting significantly the social structure of St. Augustine. The community, just as established communities everywhere, has been a place for the survival and replication of culture through succeeding generations.

When in modern times visitors become resident-tourists, shifts then occur along a number of scales. No longer are three generation (or four) families the only rule in St. Augustine. Retirees are commonly one, or at most two, generation families near the end of the family cycle. They come with a blueprint in mind, based on the community of prior residence and on a dream of what a retirement community should be. Moreover, they do not earn their living in the community and have no stake in that part of ongoing community life. Being frequently of the "young-old"

group they complain of taxes while asking for better services. Although there may be individuals who are significant exceptions, the retiree's quest is more for present comfort than community enhancement.

Retired people in a sunbelt town such as St. Augustine may actually spend part of the year, usually the hot months, in the north, so divided loyalty becomes a problem. While in their northern home communities they may continue for a short period of the year their former community lives, in St. Augustine they live an extended leisure lifestyle, foreign to the world view of the traditional community.

These tourist-cum-residents strain the spatial organization of the community. The influx of newcomers causes a nucleation into hamlets, which was, prior to 1980, a minor dispersive factor in this community case. Rivalries and confusing mini-class systems become evident.

In summary, these changes in generational forms, divided community loyalties, the permanent liminality of leisure life, and the consequent change in time and space modalities creates a chronic tension situation. This chronic tension is a factor added to the more dramatic upsets of the boom itself. Public ritual, along with other community forums such as politics and volunteerism, provides an stage for working out some of the problems outlined above.

While I have constructed an elaboration of St. Augustine's social and cultural structures as seen through ceremonial events, Van Gennep's work (1960) focuses on the process of individual and group change through ritual. The St. Augustine community today is experiencing dramatic and qualitative change. Now to understand Van Gennep's model in its terms of separation, liminality, and reincorporation is especially apropos. There are today many St. Augustines and a sense of liminality among them. We can expect that those ceremonies emerging at present and in the future in the town will need to accommodate this diversity while still facing the difficult task of forging a new and viable community identity.

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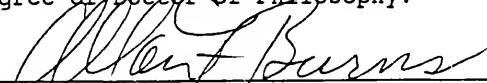
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#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Patricia C. Griffin was born January 30, 1921 in Visalia, California. After graduation from high school in San Luis Obispo, California, she received an A.B. in political science at the University of California (Berkeley) in June, 1943. She received an A.M. in social service administration at the University of Chicago in June, 1945. She received an M.A. in anthropology at the University of Florida in June, 1977. She has been a social worker and mental health center administrator and was on the faculty of The School of Social Work at The Florida State University from 1970 to 1980.

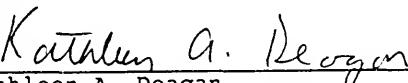
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Allan F. Burns  
Allan F. Burns, Chairman  
Associate Professor of Anthropology

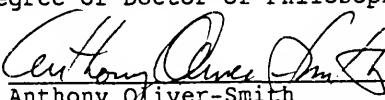
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Paul L. Doughty  
Professor of Anthropology

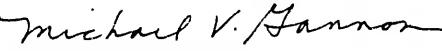
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Kathleen A. Deagan  
Kathleen A. Deagan  
Professor of Anthropology

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Anthony Oliver-Smith  
Anthony Oliver-Smith  
Associate Professor of Anthropology

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Michael V. Gannon  
Michael V. Gannon  
Professor of History

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
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Dean, Graduate School

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



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